DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 355 068 RC 019 012

AUTHOR Gray, Andrew
TITLE The Amerindians of South America. Revised.
INSTITUTION Minority Rights Group, London (England).
REPORT NO ISBN-0-946690-52-9; MRG-15
PUB DATE Jul 87
NOTE 33p.
AVAILABLE FROM Minority Rights Group, 29 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NT, England, United Kingdom (2.95 pounds net; $5.95 plus 20% surface mail postage and packing on orders of less than 10 reports).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS American Indian History; *American Indians; Civil Liberties; Colonialism; *Culture Conflict; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethnic Relations; Foreign Countries; *Indigenous Populations; *Latin American History; Latin Americans; *Minority Groups; Politics; *Self Determination
IDENTIFIERS *South America

ABSTRACT

This report provides an overview of the threats facing indigenous peoples in South America today and their efforts to resist invasion, colonization, and extermination. The first two sections outline the history of South America with regard to indigenous peoples; and the predominant features of Andean and lowland communities, religion, settlement, production, and trade. A section on international economic and political factors discusses the effects on indigenous peoples of: multinational banks and their development projects; multinational corporations involved in mining, oil production, agriculture, and cattle ranching; cocaine production; and Catholic and fundamentalist Protestant missionaries. For each South American country, a survey provides information on area, population, indigenous nations, governmental organization, legislation affecting indigenous peoples, and the major problems facing them. Final sections discuss the nature of Amerindian resistance, the structure of indigenous organizations, indigenous leadership, strategies of resistance, and suggestions as to the way in which the indigenous peoples of South America can gain the support they need for self-determination. This report contains a map locating 108 indigenous peoples and the texts of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Draft Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights. (SV)

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The Amerindians of South America

The Minority Rights Group Report No.15

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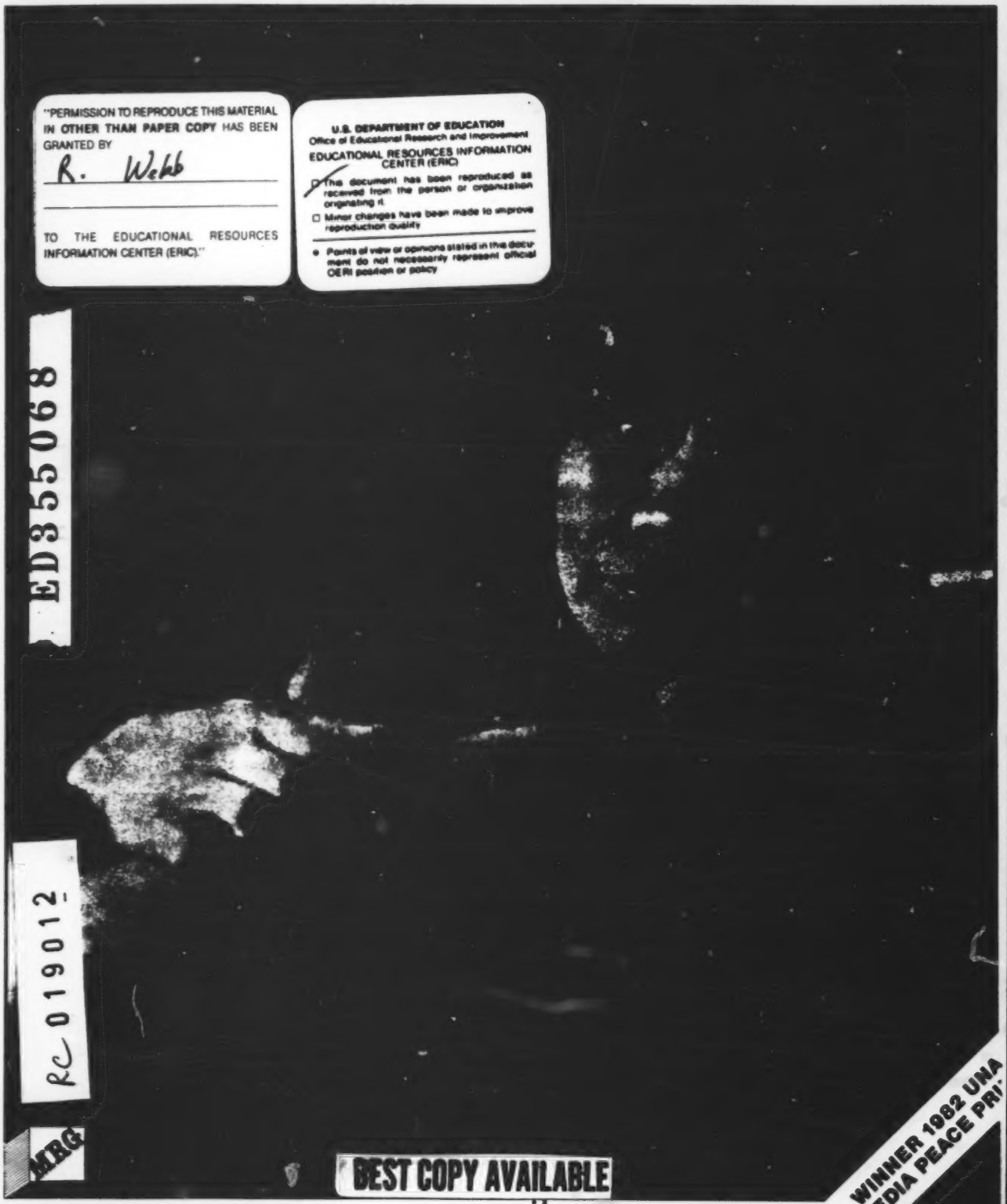

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- To secure justice for minority or majority groups suffering discrimination, by investigating their situation and publicising the facts as widely as possible, to educate and alert public opinion throughout the world.
- To help prevent, through publicity about violations of human rights, such problems from developing into dangerous and destructive conflicts which, when polarised, are very difficult to resolve; and
- To foster, by its research findings, international understanding of the factors which create prejudiced treatment and group tensions, thus helping to promote the growth of a world conscience regarding human rights.

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The Amerindians of South America

By Andrew Gray

Andrew Gray studied social anthropology at Edinburgh and Oxford. He spent two years with the Amarakaeri of of southeastern Peru between 1979 and 1981 and subsequently presented his doctoral thesis *"The Amarakaeri: an ethnographic description of a Harakmbut people"* in 1983. He has written various articles on Amarakaeri social structure, shamanism and history, as well as articles on Southeast Asia and development issues. Since 1983 he has been working in the Documentation and Research Department of IWGIA. The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, based in Copenhagen, is an independent international organization which documents, publicizes and campaigns against the oppression of indigenous peoples.

This report is dedicated to the memory of the author's Amarakaeri friend JQC who was shot by colonists near the River Pukiri, Peru, on 15 March 1987.

The cover photograph of an Ache Indian mother and child at Tuparenda, Paraguay, is by Luke Holland of Survival.

Printed by Expedite Graphic Limited, Murray House, 3 Vandon Street, London SW1H OAG.

ISBN No 0 946690 52 9

This report was first published in July 1987.

Grateful acknowledgement is made of financial help towards the costs of this report by the Onaway Trust.

The report that follows has been commissioned, and is published, by the Minority Rights Group as a contribution to public understanding of the problem which forms its subject. It does not necessarily represent, in every detail and in all its aspects, the collective view of the Group.

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The Amerindians of South America

By Andrew Gray

CONTENTS

United Nations Draft Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights	3
Map	4
Introduction	5
The Amerindians of South America	6
The colonial heritage – International factors	10
The colonial heritage – The Nation-State	14
Amerindian resistance	20
Conclusion	24
Footnotes	25

THE UNITED NATIONS
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from any fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if a man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interest.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

UNITED NATIONS
DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

1. Indigenous nations and peoples have, in common with all humanity, the right to life, and to freedom from oppression, discrimination and aggression.
2. All indigenous nations and peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right to whatever degree of autonomy or self-government they choose. This includes the right to freely determine their political status, freely pursue their own economic, social, religious and cultural development, and determine their own membership and/or citizenship, without external interference.
3. No State shall assert any jurisdiction over an indigenous nation or people, or its territory, except in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the nation or people concerned.
4. Indigenous nations and peoples are entitled to the permanent control and enjoyment of their aboriginal ancestral-historical territories. This includes surface and subsurface rights, inland and coastal waters, renewable and non-renewable resources, and the economies based on these resources.
5. Rights to share and use land, subject to the underlying and inalienable title of the indigenous nation or people, may be granted by their free and informed consent, as evidence in a valid treaty or agreement.
6. Discovery, conquest, settlement on a theory of *terra nullius* and unilateral legislation are never legitimate bases for States to claim or retain the territories of indigenous nations or peoples.
7. In cases where lands taken in violation of these principles have already been settled, the indigenous nation or people concerned is entitled to immediate restitution, including compensation for the loss of use, without extinction of original title. Indigenous peoples' desire to regain possession and control of sacred sites must always be respected.
8. No State shall participate financially or militarily in the involuntary displacement of indigenous populations, or in the subsequent economic exploitation or military use of their territory.
9. The laws and customs of indigenous nations and peoples must be recognized by States' legislative, administrative and judicial institutions and, in case of conflicts with State laws, shall take precedence.
10. No State shall deny an indigenous nation, community, or people residing within its borders the right to participate in the life of the State in whatever manner and to whatever degree they may choose. This includes the right to participate in other forms of collective actions and expression.
11. Indigenous nations and peoples continue to own and control their material culture, including archeological, historical and sacred sites, artifacts, designs, knowledge, and works of art. They have the right to regain items of major cultural significance and, in all cases, to the return of the human remains of their ancestors for burial in accordance with their traditions.
12. Indigenous nations and peoples have the right to be educated and conduct business with States in their own languages, and to establish their own educational institutions.
13. No technical, scientific or social investigations, including archeological excavations, shall take place in relation to indigenous nations or peoples, or their lands, without their prior authorization, and their continuing ownership and control.
14. The religious practices of indigenous nations and peoples shall be fully respected and protected by the laws of States and by international law. Indigenous nations and peoples shall always enjoy unrestricted access to, and enjoyment of sacred sites in accordance with their own laws and customs, including the right of privacy.
15. Indigenous nations and peoples are subjects of international law.
16. Treaties and other agreements freely made with indigenous nations or peoples shall be recognized and applied in the same manner and according to the same international laws and principles as treaties and agreements entered into with other States.
17. Disputes regarding the jurisdiction, territories and institutions of an indigenous nation or people are a proper concern of international law, and must be resolved by mutual agreement or valid treaty.
18. Indigenous nations and peoples may engage in self-defense against State actions in conflict with their right to self-determination.
19. Indigenous nations and peoples have the right freely to travel, and to maintain economic, social, cultural and religious relations with each other across State borders.
20. In addition to these rights, indigenous nations and peoples are entitled to the enjoyment of all the human rights and fundamental freedoms enumerated in the International Bill of Rights and other United Nations instruments. In no circumstances shall they be subjected to adverse discrimination.

List of indigenious peoples shown on the map

Venezuela
1 Wayuu (Guajiro)
2 Yukpa
3 Paujanos
4 Barí
5 Warao
6 Karinas
7 Piaroa
8 Pemon
9 Akwayo
10 Panare
11 Ye'cuana
12 Yanomami

Columbia
13 Paez
14 Guanbiano
15 Cuna
16 Embera
1 Wayuu (Guajiro)
17 Guahibo (Cuiva)

Ecuador
18 Quichua
19 Shuar
20 Waorani
21 Cofan
22 Secoya
23 Siona
24 Zaparo
25 Otavalo
26 Colorados
Pinchada
27 Cayapa

Peru
28 Aguaruna
29 Quechua
30 Aymara
31 Huambisa
32 Harakmbut
33 Ashaninka (Campa)
34 Yanesha
(Amuesha)
35 Amarakaeri
36 Shipibo

Bolivia
37 Chiriguanos
38 Aymara
39 Toromonas
40 Jora
41 Chimanes
42 Mojos
43 Movima
44 Chiquitanos
45 Guarayos
46 Mataco
47 Ayoreo

Chile
48 Aymara
49 Mapuche
50 Yamana
51 Qawasqar

Argentina
52 Kollas
53 Tobas
54 Mataco
55 Guarani
56 Mapuche
57 Tehuelches
58 Selk'nam
59 Chiriguano
60 Mocovi
61 Mbya Guarani
62 Onu

Paraguay
63 Toba-Maskoy
64 Ayoreo
65 Mataco
66 Mbaya
67 Aché
68 Ava-Chiripá

Brazil
69 Urueu-wau-wau
70 Yanomami
71 Cinta Larga
72 Xavante
73 Pataxo-Ha-Ha-Hae
74 Kaingang
75 Arara
76 Parakana
77 Kreen Akarore
78 Txukahame
79 Waimiri-Atroari
80 Nambikwara
81 Xokleng
82 Guarani
83 Asurini
84 Surui
85 Gavioe
86 Tukano
87 Baniwa
88 Maku
89 Karaja
90 Tubarao
91 Arua
92 Zoro
93 Tapirapa

French Guiana
94 Arawak
95 Galibi
96 Palikur
97 Emerillon
98 Oyampi
99 Wayana

Guyana
100 Akawaio
101 Patamona
102 Arekuna Makusi
103 Waiwai

Surinam
104 Trio
105 Wayana
106 Akuriyo
107 Arawak
108 Carib

INTRODUCTION

When in 1728 Ajuricaba (the leader of the Manau nation from the Rio Negro) leapt, still chained, into the Rio Pará near the Brazilian city of Belém, he symbolized the historical choice of Amerindians facing colonization: death or servitude. Murder, disease and captivity have decimated the aboriginal nations of South America since the first European invasion 500 years ago; many other indigenous peoples throughout the world have shared their fate, sometimes on a similar scale.

Most Amerindian nations in South America have experienced the loss of as many as nine-tenths of their populations within the first 50 years of their contact with colonizing agents. The total indigenous death-toll surpasses the 20 million inhabitants who are estimated to have lived in the highland and lowland regions prior to the invasion.[1] The deaths still continue: in Peru alone, 5000 indigenous highlanders have been killed since 1983 in clashes between the Armed Forces and the Maoist guerrilla organization known as *Sendero Luminoso*. Meanwhile, in the southeastern lowland forest, more than 60 Nahua have died from infectious diseases after only two years of contact, and recent reports express fear for the future survival of the 300 remaining members of the group.[2]

The indigenous nations of South America have resisted genocide and ethnocide throughout their history. North of the Nahua, in 1742, Juan Santos Atahualpa brought together Yanesha (Amuesha), Ashaninka (Campa) and other peoples from the upper Ucayali tributaries into an indigenous, political and religious resistance movement. By actions reminiscent of the Tupinambá wars in Brazil and the Inca resistance in Peru, he succeeded in delaying the encroaching colonial frontier for almost 100 years. This tradition of resistance is far from dead. Throughout South America, indigenous peoples are currently forming local, national and international organizations to fight for their rights to life, land, culture and self-determination. Only by taking control of their own destinies can indigenous peoples survive – indeed, it is this process of struggle which constitutes their survival.

The fundamental rights of indigenous peoples to their territories and resources are based on the ways in which communities and cultures have lived for thousands of years. Today these resources are under threat more than ever before. Every year 4.2 m. hectares of tropical rain forest are destroyed in Latin America out of a total of 900 million. Multinational companies' attempts to exploit the Ecuadorian Amazon for African Palm trees could mean the end of many traditional Quichua communities in the next few years. This is but one example of the effects of the colonizing combination of agriculture, ranching, mining and energy production which are constantly encroaching on indigenous lands. Governments are as reluctant as ever to recognize indigenous territorial titles for fear of losing access to resources. A consequence of losing land is the increasing drift into the cities where poor migrants, far from their communities, try to retain links with their rural relatives and preserve their cultural identity in the face of sickness and starvation. This is particularly apparent in Peru, where millions of indigenous Quichua migrants in Lima face intolerable conditions as they flee the war-torn communities of their birth.

Throughout Latin America, traditional indigenous values receive little or no respect. In schools, the killers of Indians, such as Fitzcarrald in Peru or the Bandeirantes of Sao Paulo in Brazil, are treated as national heroes. In the communities, traditional culture, be it medicine, ritual or mythology, is devalued and disappearing while indigenous social organization is under great pressure from 'developers', both religious and secular.

The rights of indigenous peoples centre around the principle of self-determination. In the UN Human Rights Sub-Commission's report on the problem of discrimination against indigenous peoples (the Cobo Report) self-determination is set out as follows:

'self-determination, in its many forms, must be recognized as the basic precondition for the enjoyment by indigenous peoples of their fundamental rights and the determination of their own future.' (Paragraph 590)

'It must also be recognized that the right to self-determination exists at various levels and includes economic, social, cultural and political factors. In essence, it constitutes the exercise of free choice by indigenous peoples, who must, to a large extent, create the specific content of this principle, in both its internal and external expressions, which does not necessarily include the right to secede from the state in which they live and to set themselves up as sovereign entities.' (Paragraph 581)

This theme of self-determination underlies this Report. In a South American context this means that indigenous nations should themselves be able to decide how they want to live and develop their economic, social, cultural and political institutions. How each nation practises self-determination will vary according to the prevailing conditions and its own choice: the political struggle in which indigenous peoples are engaged is dedicated to enabling them to make that choice. This Report sets out the factors which prevent the Amerindians from exercising their right to self-determination. These factors have arisen from a history of colonization which has had both genocidal and ethnocidal consequences. The UN Convention of Genocide of 1946 states that the crime covers the destruction in whole or in part of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group; ethnocide is the destruction of the socio-cultural identity of a group. In the specific UN definition of genocide, intent by responsible rulers, public officials and private individuals is a prerequisite for the commission of the crime. When applying the term in South America, the notion of intent should be interpreted broadly, ranging from the taking of calculated risks which could lead to genocidal consequences, to the failure to bring into effect laws or policies designed to prevent genocide.

Indigenous peoples in South America are increasingly referring to themselves as 'nations'. Amazonian groups in Peru insist on this word, and in Brazil the main indigenous organization is called the 'Union of Indigenous Nations'. The concept is fully recognized when discussing North American Indians (even those who have not signed treaties) and is now being commonly used throughout the world. For this reason the word nation is used interchangeably with the more usual 'people' in this Report. A common definition of nation is a 'large number of people of mainly common descent, language, history, etc., usually inhabiting a territory bounded by defined limits and forming a society under one government'. For indigenous nations, the sense of government here refers to principles of government rather than its apparatus. This contrast distinguishes an indigenous nation from a nation-state.

Tying together the principle of self-determination, natural resources and indigenous nations, the first principle of the 1962 UN resolution relating to permanent sovereignty over natural resources makes the Amerindian position clear:

'the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the State concerned.'

Over the last ten years the semantics of indigenous politics has changed. Concepts such as 'ethnic-plurality', 'self-representation', 'usufruct rights to the land' and the 'loss of traditional indigenous life' have been superceded. Now the issues are 'nationhood', 'self-determination', 'inalienable territorial rights' and the 'reformulation' or even 'recycling' of traditional indigenous life. These are not examples of using different words to mean the same thing. They refer to a complete change in the orientation of indigenous rights at an international level and the recognition that indigenous nations should control their destiny.

The succeeding section provides a historical, territorial and socio-cultural background to the Amerindians. The rights of indigenous peoples do not exist in a vacuum. They have become articulated through a history of colonization and are centred around control over resources, preservation of life and socio-cultural self-development. South America has a complex patchwork of ecosystems and cultures and it is beyond the scope of this Report to do little more than draw out the main features. However, unless we understand that its indigenous peoples conceive of their colonial history as one of devastation and resistance, we will not grasp the significance of the rise of indigenous movements in the last 10 years. Similarly the ecological balance throughout the continent is facing severe threats which affect the livelihood of indigenous and non-indigenous people alike and we have to question the still prevalent misconception that the natural resources of the area are abundant.

The question as to how many 'traditional' indigenous peoples still live in South America is a political one. There are no objective criteria for defining what is or is not traditional. Most Amerindians no longer wear their national costumes except for ceremonial occasions and the spatial designs of communities have changed over the years. However, traditional ideas, political structures, economic pursuits and traditional notions of identity are resilient. Many Indians live in towns but still retain their national identity

[1] For footnotes see page 25

and community affiliation. One does not have to wear feathers to be a traditional Amerindian and national identity formed by culture, society, language and community is as strong as ever.

The two following sections look at the problems facing indigenous peoples of South America from both international and national perspectives. Multinationals, the Church and international interests all have a stake in the future of indigenous peoples which is, more often than not, opposed to their right to self-determination. The national surveys are set out in a format that enables quick comparisons and highlights the major characteristics of indigenous affairs in each South American country. Many changes have taken place since the last MRG Report on the Amerindians was published 10 years ago. The world recession has brought into sharp relief the stranglehold grip of international interests over the States of South America who often seek to transfer their predicament onto the less privileged sectors of society, particularly indigenous peoples. The dire consequences which have arisen from the exploitation of their natural resources and labour have reinforced indigenous nations' determination to defend their territorial and other rights. This defence is the indigenous resistance movement which is gradually transcending community and national boundaries while gaining in scope and effectiveness.

The fourth part of the Report looks in detail at this resistance by indigenous peoples of South America. In a recent International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) publication about a lowland indigenous people in Peru, the present writer described the reaction of a community to the threats facing them as alternating between resignation and resistance. This response is one which can be found throughout the continent and further afield. The histories and accounts of indigenous peoples facing colonialism are too often couched in terms of their resignation and helplessness in the face of adversity. While recognizing the sense of dejection which Amerindian groups undoubtedly feel when confronting threats to their homes and lives, this Report reflects the changes which have taken place in the indigenous world in the last 15 years. The proliferation of leaders and organizations is trying to draw the Amerindians as a whole out of their sense of being overwhelmed, and bring to the fore their long history of resistance and success against colonization.

The Report ends with suggestions as to the way in which indigenous peoples in South America can gain the support they need to achieve their aspirations. To understand this and to find practical solutions to the problems facing indigenous peoples we should listen to what they themselves have to say. Any 'solution' will have to be placed within the framework of their fundamental rights. In order to show these more clearly, a Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights, formulated by indigenous representatives and lawyers at Geneva in 1985, is set out at the beginning of this Report.

In spite of changes, the dangers threatening the Amerindians have altered very little over the last decade. A recent mission to Brazil by IWGIA lead Rene Fuerst to conclude, after ten years absence from the country, that the threats facing the Indians there are as serious as ever.[3] The urgency is still there, but what has recently changed is that indigenous peoples are now spearheading their own struggle. They no longer want to be represented by non-indigenous 'experts' speaking on their behalf, but want to represent themselves while welcoming outside support.

Mário Juruna, the first Indian to become a Federal Parliamentary Deputy in Brazil, said in a recent interview:

'Indian wealth lies in customs and communal traditions and land which is sacred. Indian demands should be heard. Indians can and want to choose their own road, and this road is not civilization made by whites . . . Indian civilization is more human. We do not want paternalistic protection from whites. Indians today . . . want political power.'[4]

THE AMERINDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

The first Amerindians crossed the frozen Bering Straits about 30,000 years ago, and over the next 10,000 years spread their hunting and gathering cultures over the Americas. Between 15,000 and 20,000 years ago these peoples moved and migrated throughout the highlands and lowlands of South America. Some fifty centuries ago, agriculture was first established together with settlements on the lowland riverine flood plains and highland valleys.

Prior to the European invasions of the 16th century, South America consisted of a wide spectrum of indigenous social formations. The lowland nations ranged from hunting and gathering bands to village settlements which contained up to 1000 people, probably organized under a politico-religious leadership. In the highlands both agriculturalists and pastoralists lived side by side in communities which periodically fused into international formations based on quasi-State organizations. The most famous State formation in South America, prior to the Spanish invasion, was that of the Incas. These Quichua-speaking rulers held sway over an area stretching from present-day Ecuador in the north to northern Chile and Argentina in the south. Elements of the Inca models of social and territorial organizations are still very much in evidence in the indigenous movements of the highland regions.

Rather than view the Amerindians as participating in an evolutionary process from hunting and gathering to State structures, it is more useful to understand the continent as containing a broad spectrum of socio-economic and cultural patterns. People shifted from one way of life to another according to the particular ecological and historical conditions of the time. The evidence for this comes from the spread of artifacts and language. Language and artifact dispersion is not necessarily proof of migration, but taking this evidence together with social and cultural features, it would appear that South American peoples have never been merely static remnants of some millenarian past.[5] The indigenous peoples of the continent were its first inhabitants and used the whole area as their subsistence base. Although it is unlikely that there was an entire 'Pan-Indigenous' movement, chains of inter-connecting networks can be traced from coast to coast.

Within a year of Colombus setting foot on American soil, the Spanish Borgia, Pope Alexander VI, divided the uncharted world between Spain and Portugal – a decision which was reinforced in the following year, 1494, in the Treaty of Tordesillas. This division was the framework for the unplanned pincer movement whereby Spanish and Portuguese colonialist forces invaded South America from the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts respectively.

The first Amerindians to receive the brunt of the invasion were the Tupi nations from the coasts of what is now Brazil. Initial sporadic and friendly relations between the Indians and Portuguese led to the establishment of 12 colonies, authorized by the Portuguese King João III. The colonists were eager to exploit trade in wood and sugar and their pursuits soon brought them into headlong conflict with the Indians. The death and slavery which almost wiped out the Tupi provided a pattern which was to be repeated regularly over the next 500 years. Labour shortages made the colonists seek indigenous slaves which caused resentment and hatred from the Indians who carried out wars of resistance throughout the century. A complicating factor was the appearance of rival colonial powers – France and the Netherlands – who fought Portuguese hegemony over the area. Each power gained support for its claims by exploiting the hostilities already existing between Indian groups. As devastating as murder and slavery was disease. Within two years of contact the Indians were dying of dysentary and influenza which were later followed by smallpox and the plague. The Jesuit missionaries tried to bring Indians into missions known as *reductions*. Epidemics swept through these settlements, killing hundreds of thousands of Indians in only a few decades.

Over the first 150 years of Portuguese colonization in Brazil the following scenario was often re-enacted. The shortage of labour and eagerness to seek out and exploit new resources drew colonists inland into the savannas inhabited by the Gê-speaking peoples and the rain forests of the Pará and Amazon. Whether they were setting up plantations, cattle ranches, forestry or mining, the colonists received constant resistance from indigenous peoples of the region who were quite clear as to their fate. Caught between genocide from colonists such as the Bandeirante Indian hunters of São Paulo and ethnocide from Jesuits continually seeking more recruits for the *reductions*, thousands, like Ajuricaba, preferred death on their own terms. Meanwhile the Portuguese State looked on, offering only feeble attempts to stop the apocalyptic destruction of the indigenous Amerindians.[6]

The Spanish on the Pacific Coast matched their Portuguese rivals in cruelty and hypocrisy. Although the first European to witness Inca rule was the Portuguese, Aleixo Garcia from the Chaco in 1524, it was the invasion of Pizarro and Almagro in 1532 which led to the murder of the Inca Atahualpa and a victorious and speedy

conquest of what is now Spanish-speaking South America. The Spaniards did not bother with establishing trading relations, but proceeded to milk the Andean area for its mineral wealth.

In spite of Indian resistance which came mainly from the Cuzco region and lasted 30 years or more, the Spaniards established their control through urban settlements and indirect rural control through the *encomienda* system in less than 15 years. Spain's main interest in Peru was the accumulation of gold and silver bullion. Rather than enslave the indigenous population, Viceroy Toledo (1569-81) organized a system of forced labour, Indian tax and the settling of communities into huge aggregates called *reductions*.[7]

The extent of the dramatic decline of the indigenous population at the time of the invasion is largely a question of guesswork. Mörner's recent book[8] estimates a decline from 9 million Andean people in 1532 to 700,000 in 1625. A primary factor in this decline was disease which was spread both deliberately and naturally. Disease continues to be a major killer of indigenous people in South America.

The effect of contact had severe consequences for the whole region. More and more land fell into the hands of a few colonists as Indians died from disease and inhuman conditions in the mines. Spanish rule extended throughout South America in the form of urban settlement centres interspersed with less populated areas. This pattern of colonial rule continued until the middle of the 18th century. By 1750, the continent was under Iberian control, but there were still many areas removed from European influence. In particular the lowland forests of Peru had fewer missionaries and colonists than Brazil because of several successful resistance movements, including that of Juan Santos Atahualpa. Although Franciscans and Dominicans were working in the lowlands, the Jesuits continued to dominate the missionary scene. Their *reductions* throughout South America were economically lucrative and socio-politically powerful. By the end of the 17th century, for example, 100,000 Guarani Indians were living in Jesuit *reductions* and working for them. This threatened the State and colonists' control of both the natural and human resources of the lowlands. Eventually Portugal expelled the Jesuits in 1759 and Spain followed in 1767. From 1759, the new French Bourbon dynasty, which was now on the Spanish throne, began to rationalize the whole Peruvian colonial system as a means of combatting British hegemony over the region. Trade was liberalized and increased, a French model of *intendentes* in control of provinces was introduced to raise revenue and a second Viceroyalty was established in Buenos Aires to facilitate communications with Europe. The new regime, although liberal, discriminated against American-born *Criollos* in favour of *Peninsulares* from Spain. This inequality sowed the seeds for the independence movement.

The Andean Indians had also been active at this time. Tupac Amaru in Cuzco and Tupac Katari in Puno fiercely resisted the forced sale of Indian merchandise and use of labour in the large farms of landowners. The movements had a solid indigenous following and contained messianic elements. The names Amaru and Katari refer in Quichua and Aymara respectively to the Inca who was driven underground in the form of a serpent and who will one day rise to free the Andes from colonial oppression. Although both uprisings were put down, and the leaders executed, they have given courage and inspirations to generations of Quichua and Aymara Indians seeking to end the injustices of colonial rule. Today in Peru and Bolivia there are several indigenous organizations which have taken their names from these resistance leaders of the 1770s.

However, the independence movements which engulfed Spanish America 40 years later came from different sources – the American-born Creoles. Confident after defeating the British near Buenos Aires in 1806 and armed with the current ideals of the liberal enlightenment, the Creoles rose against the *Peninsulares* who were weakened after Napoleon's occupation of Spain from 1810-14 and the subsequent restoration of the tyrannical Spanish King Ferdinand VII. A pincer movement closed in on Peru. Bolivar moved down from Venezuela through Colombia and Ecuador while the Argentinian San Martin crossed the Andes and entered via Chile. By 1825, 17 Republics had been created.

The independence movement stemmed primarily from Argentina and Venezuela which were less constricted by the rigid Spanish trade monopolies in force in Peru. The growth of a bourgeois class, influenced by European libertarian ideals, provided ripe conditions for a bourgeois revolutionary struggle which did not however provide any emancipation for the indigenous peoples of the continent. Independence did not mean social revolution and the structure of Spanish colonial society remained. A stroke of misguided liberalism caused Bolivar to decree in 1824 that any member of an Andean community could sell his own share of communal land holdings. The selling of communal land dispossessed many Indians from their territories and contributed to the rise of huge highland estates (*haciendas*). The Andean peasants who lost their lands began to seek an alternative life on the coast or in the jungles, initiating a process of migration which continues today. The new South American republics took advantage of the movement of people into the lowlands to encourage the forming of coffee plantations. The full exploitation of the western lowlands did not, however, take place until later in the century when it occurred with a vengeance.[9]

Brazil, in contrast to the Spanish-speaking countries, did not gain republic status until 1889. Instead it was governed by the exiled Portuguese crown, who, in the form of Emperor Pedro I, proclaimed Brazil independent. Throughout the autocratic rule of Pedro I and his son Pedro II, the *fazendeiros*, who owned cotton and sugar plantations, and the cattle ranchers dominated economic and social life holding their power base on land stolen from the Indians.

Apart from Venezuela, which led the initiative for South American independence, other northern countries, such as the Guianas were, like Brazil, less affected by the invaders. After the Dutch were expelled from Brazil in 1654, they settled further north, trading with the Indians and then setting up sugar plantations, a practice which was followed by the French and British in the same area. The introduction of slaves from Africa relieved the pressure on the local Indians to work in the plantations. Although they escaped mass destruction as in other parts of the continent, the Guianan Amerindians of the coast have been assimilated to a large degree, while the tribal groups of the forests, such as those of Venezuela, have lived largely under mission control over the last 100 years.

The 19th century saw the first wars between the new Republics. The War of the Pacific was over nitrate resources disputed by Chile, Bolivia and Peru. Chile gained wealth by winning the war and used its veterans to decimate the Mapuche people. When the Chilean army invaded Peru in 1880, the resistance against the occupation was principally indigenous (led by the Indian General Andrés Avelico Cacéres from Ayacucho). Indians from the Bolivian Andes kept resistance against the Chilean occupation alive in their country also by using traditional weapons. Meanwhile, Paraguay had lost most of its able-bodied men (mainly Guarani) in the War of the Triple Alliance against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The main losers in these wars were Bolivia and Paraguay who themselves fought a war over resources in the Chaco in 1932. The Chaco War cost the lives of indigenous soldiers on both sides who fought for countries which cared little for their existence.

The main indigenous victims of Republican rule during the middle of the 19th century were those in Argentina and Chile. At the beginning of the Republican era the Argentinian pampas and central Chile were the territories of Araucanian people (Mapuche). This nation had held off the Incas and the Spanish, but the quest for land for agricultural and pastoral estates led the Republics to invade.

The new Republics in South America were unable to uphold the liberal principles on which they had been founded, and power increasingly fell into the hands of personal leaders (*caudillos*) who frequently had their own armies. It was these armies which set about the destruction of the Mapuche. Between 1865 and 1885 a militarized line across Argentina formed a base for attacking the indigenous peoples of the pampas. The Mapuche were increasingly attacked and killed until, with the advent of the repetition rifle, they were killed by the thousand and forced to surrender. Simultaneously, in Chile, the Mapuche were attacked, dispersed and then settled on reservations. These later became tied to large estates as a reservoir of land and labour. However, for all the genocidal attempts to destroy them, the Mapuche still exist and have formed organizations in both Chile and Argentina where they are fighting for their rights.

The destruction of the indigenous peoples of Chile and Argentina went southwards to Tierra del Fuego. There the Indians, known as 'land' and 'sea' peoples according to the zone of their subsistence activities, have, over the last century, either been destroyed or face imminent extinction.

The next indigenous areas to face devastation by invasion were the Upper Amazon regions of Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia along with the Venezuelan Orinoco basin. The most infamous economic boom of the 19th century was of rubber. The development of vulcanization in the 1870s led to an international demand for rubber, causing its price to rise rapidly. The resultant boom lasted for nearly 50 years, during which period the lowland forest Indians were killed, enslaved and relocated by 'rubber barons' such as Arana, Fitzcarrald, Suarez and Vacca Diez. The rubber boom did to the Western Amazon what the Portuguese had done to the East and the Spanish to the Andes. The best documented atrocities took place in the Putumayo river region of northern Peru, and Colombia where, between 1886 and 1919, 40,000 Indians were killed. By 1920 the depopulation of the rubber areas had, in some cases, reached 95%. The only survivors were those living in the more inaccessible regions.

In the wake of the rubber boom, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru became the battlegrounds for a war between oil companies. Subsidiaries of Shell and Exxon fought for exploration rights in the Amazon, even to the extent of becoming involved in a border war between Ecuador and Peru in 1941. Although oil was not found until the 1960s, the exploration itself devastated the lives of the Amazon Indians in the area. Oil was still being produced in the lowland regions until the late 1970s.

Since the 1880s lowland South America has witnessed the rise and fall of several economies apart from rubber and oil. In Brazil the coffee price has risen and fallen and the rise in the price of gold in the early 1980s caused rushes in several parts of the Amazon, particularly the Madre de Dios in Peru. The effect of the 'boom and bust' economy has been the continuous penetration of the colonial frontier into uncontacted indigenous areas. Many groups have suffered enormously from this impact. In Brazil, for example, 87 Indian groups were wiped out in the first half of the 20th century from contact with expanding colonial frontiers – especially rubber and mining in the northwest, cattle in the northeast, agriculture in the south and east, and from road building throughout all regions.[9] This economic-based desruction of the Amazon and its inhabitants is not just history however; as we shall see in the next two Sections it is a process which continues today.

Throughout colonial history, the highlands and lowlands have shared the deprivation of certain fundamental rights. In both regions the basic problems centre on gaining official recognition of land and opposing its concentration in the hands of landlords who are mainly interested in exploiting Indians. In all the Andean countries there have been agrarian reforms over the past 30 years. The Bolivian Reform of 1952, for example, divided communal land into individual allotments which resulted in the destruction of thousands of communities. Chile brought in a similar law in 1979 which reduced the number of Mapuche communities from 2066 to 655. Peru's Agrarian Reform of 1968, in contrast, stressed community existence in the form of co-operatives. Unfortunately problems such as lack of credit, infrastructure and marketing opportunities combined with the machinations of ex-landlords and subsequent governments, limited its effects.[10]

The last century has witnessed a continuation of resistance in the Andes. Some of this has been developed by guerrilla organizations such as those in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, whereas in other cases non-violent Indian organizations have been formed such as the Regional Indian Council of Cauca (CRIC). This Colombian organization is based on defending and regaining traditional Indian reserved lands organized by their own councils. Political mobilization has also taken place in the lowlands, initiated by the Shuar Federation which was formed in 1964 as a defence against the constant infringements of indigenous rights by colonists. Indigenous self-organization has since spread extensively and there are several hundred bodies which represent communities and nations all over South America. Even though the problems facing indigenous peoples are as acute and critical as ever, the initiative for dealing with them is now firmly in the hands of indigenous peoples themselves. To understand this we should look more closely at Amerindian societies and cultures.

Indian Societies and Cultures

The Amerindians of South America are unanimous in their demand for the recognition of their territorial rights. Without understanding the relationship between indigenous peoples and their territories it is impossible to grasp the significance of this demand and how it relates to all other aspects of their culture and society. The largest geographical regions in South America are the Andean highlands and the tropical lowlands which contain the rain forests of the Amazon and Orinoco river basins. The predominant feature of highland ecology is its vertical character. A fundamental distinction found all over the Andes is between the *quichua* zone and the *puna* zone. The *quichua* zone consists of lower mountain slopes with relatively fertile soils for growing maize and where most communities have their base. The *puna* zones are on the higher areas of the mountains where soils can provide potatoes and grazing for llama herding. Settlements are far more dispersed in these high regions.

In some areas these zones undergo modification – those nearer the lowlands have upland forest in the valleys, suitable for sugar plantations, while in other areas, the overall distinction between *quichua* and *puna* itself becomes less obvious as one or other has prominence. Much of highland socio-economy consists of the inter-relationship between these zones and has unequivocal cultural expression. The symbiotic exchange of produce, the interaction between land and water for providing fertility helps to maintain the complementarity between social groups in both zones. When in 1982-3 *Sendero Luminoso* tried to ban local markets in order to make the highland areas 'self-sufficient', it made many enemies within traditional communities whose whole livelihood rests on the exchange of produce. In 1986 the Peruvian government, on its side, began to relocate some communities from the emergency area of Ayacucho which has also seriously threatened the traditional highland vertical economy.

In contrast to the highlands, the lowlands have what could be termed a 'horizontal economy'. The fundamental distinction here is between *varzea* and *terra firme*. *Várzea* is the flood-plain of the Amazon and its major tributaries which, due to the rise and fall of the water level, receives nutrients from deposited sediment. The fertile soils on the broad flood-plains of the major rivers have, in the past, supported comparatively large populations. The more widespread *terra firme* is not subject to flooding and the soils are of a poorer quality than those of the *várzea*. The traditional inhabitants of *terra firme* lands are considered to have been more mobile, emphasizing hunting and fishing rather than horticultural production.

Although Amazonia's 1,853,000 square miles can be strictly divided into 2% *varzea* and 98% *terra firme*, this gives a false impression. In reality each area of the rain forest has a variety of ecological niches where different crops grow and soils vary. For example, wherever rivers flood in Amazonia the soil will be more fertile than the areas which receive no annual deposit of sediment. The indigenous groups of each region usually have a clear knowledge of how to make full use of the potential in their territories. In this way, for example, many western Amazonian groups have several ecological zones around their communities which are sometimes connected by economic relationships of exchange or complementarity. (This could perhaps be seen as similar to the inter-relationships between ecological zones in the highlands noted earlier.) The utilization of natural resources over a broad area is something which is not usually understood by those drawing up land titles for indigenous territories.

The ecology of the tropical rain forest has certain characteristics which makes it particularly vulnerable to industrial exploitation. The thin Amazonian soils (especially in the *terra firme* zones) are susceptible to loss of fertility from too much solar radiation and high rainfall. The forest canopy shields the soil from these destructive elements and adds to its fertility by dropping leaves and branches which enable it to regenerate. An enormous variety of species (several thousand per square mile in some areas) share out soil nutrients economically which adds to the overall 'ecological balance'. Where a large area of forest is cleared, soil regeneration becomes increasingly difficult. In a short time the forest disappears and along with it goes the livelihood of its indigenous inhabitants.

South of the Amazon on both sides of the Brazilian highlands, throughout much of Argentina and stretching up through Paraguay and Bolivia, are grasslands and savanna. Those areas near main rivers or close to the rain forest allow for more fertile soils and a broad spectrum economy. More isolated areas, like the *terra firme* discussed earlier, have poor soils and a limited range of resources. Lowland Amerindians are constantly being forced onto the poorer

areas of both the forest, grasslands and savannas as colonists encroach further onto their traditional territories. The southern tip of South America contains a scattered archipelago comprising Tierra del Fuego. This isolated area contains the survivors of several indigenous groups who live from the land or the sea. Traditionally these peoples were mobile, seeking to subsist on the coastal and inland resources.

Drawing out the major features of the societies and cultures of Amerindian South America is fraught with difficulties. There are hundreds of groups spread throughout the regions, each with distinct social formations and cultural traits which create a patchwork covering the whole continent. Nevertheless, there are common features which make the differences appear as variations on certain themes.

The fundamental basis of any indigenous society is the community. A community is defined by its members according to criteria which vary in emphasis throughout the continent. The following features are not intended as an anthropological analysis but as a general survey of some of the primary factors which make up the notion of community and society. Many of these factors have ideological expressions which help to contribute to the identity of the peoples concerned.

The question as to who constitutes an indigenous person can be approached from several starting points. According to the position taken in this Report indigenous peoples are colonized peoples who have their own language, community, territorial base and a national identity which is recognized by themselves. Not all indigenous peoples have all these features. Many Indians today live in cities and, although no longer living on their traditional territorial base have a strong indigenous identity. Others, still living in small towns in the countryside, have lost their identity as indigenous peoples. Individuals who no longer wish to be seen or treated as indigenous are beyond the scope of this Report which treats the term 'indigenous' ethnically and not racially. Indigenous identity is a practical, political and ideological phenomenon which is intimately connected to self-determination. A fundamental principle in South American identity is that of duality. Duality is a view of the world which sees people, society, the cosmos and/or other aspects of life as divided into two complementary parts. The harmony of the universe depends on a controlled inter-relationship between the halves.

For example, the predominant feature of Andean societies is the organization of the world into the dynamic inter-relation of dualities. Although the expression of these dualities varies in extent and intensity, they recur in a range of forms. Territorial dualism divides many highland communities into two halves – *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower). Parallel with this distinction is that which we noted above of the upper *puna* ecological zone which contrasts with the lower *quichua* where economic exchange and the division of labour co-ordinates production.

Socially, duality appears with the *ayllu* which is a basic unit of Andean society, based on kin relations and/or residence. The *ayllu* is always defined in relation to a conceptualized opposing group. Similar social dualities have been noted in marriage rules and community officials where *varayoqkuna* (leaders) come from different parts of the village.

Dualism is a primary feature of Andean religion linking together the spiritual world with that of humans and their environment. The principle of duality among the Andean peoples is kept in order by a 'unitary principle' which keeps the opposing elements of the duality in constant dynamic tension thereby enabling the world to continue. The unitary principle appears either as the exchange of elements between the opposing features (such as economic exchange between ecological zones) or a third party which keeps the duality in order (such as the person of the Inca who personified the order of the universe by transcending its opposing forces).[11] The duality of Andean society is crucial for understanding indigenous reactions to colonization through history. When the traditional order was disrupted by oppression and devastation of highland society, messianic movements frequently appeared, seeking a new unitary principle to restore the disrupted dualistic order. The current messianic movement known as 'Israelitas' which is spreading through the Peruvian highlands is largely a response to the devastation being wreaked on the region by both *Sendero Luminoso* and the Peruvian Armed Forces.

In Colombia, the highland Paez and Guambiano Indians who speak the Chibcha language, have many of their communities on reserved lands (*resguardos*) which were first recognized in the days of Spanish rule. The main political unit has been the community council (*cabildo*) which endorses major decisions. This structure does not apply to all highland groups as some have not had their reserved lands recognized and others have had their lands taken from them. The Mapuche nation of Chile and Argentina held a continuous land-holding until the end of the last century when they were thrown off their lands and herded into reservations. Their communities were based on kin ties and residential criteria but were cross-cut by three specialist classes: *ülmenes* – shamans and leaders, *küme-che* – skilled people, and *conas* – unskilled. In some areas this classification still exists.

Lowland South American nations present a more intricate patchwork than the highlands, consisting of over 500 different groups. Linguists consider that all lowland languages came originally from one parent language. The three largest language families in the region are Arawak (northwest Amazon and forest east of the Andes), Carib (Guiana and westwards) and Tupi-Guarani (Atlantic coast of Brazil and lower Amazon). Three smaller and more contained language groups are the Gê (central Brazil), Pano (central and southeast Peru) and Tacana (Bolivian lowlands). In between these language families there are many smaller groups who speak completely unrelated languages.

In terms of production and settlement there is a marked contrast between the highlands and lowlands. The highland peoples live on community sites where they have been settled for hundreds of years. Permanent communities are based on herding and an agricultural cycle based on crop rotation. The result is a community which is relatively stable but which loses members during times of crisis when there is a need to supplement subsistence activities. Lowland areas, on the other hand, have more mobile communities. Slash and burn agriculture is found throughout the region and works well with weak soils which need years for regeneration. Hunting and fishing replace herding as the principal work.

Although there are records of peoples such as the Tupi and Guarani moving large distances, the mobility of the lowland peoples is usually within a territorial 'catchment' area. Traditionally the most mobile groups were hunters and gatherers such as the Colombian Cuiva while others lived for periods of years in more settled communities. A common feature in the Amazon region has been large communal houses (*malocas*) capable of holding several hundred people. They are constructed in the form of a central dance and ritual area surrounded by domestic hearths. The symbolism of the *maloca* reflects in many ways the order of the universe in microcosmic dimensions. Another form of Amazon settlements are homesteads dispersed along a river bank without any central point. The Brazilian Gê-speaking groups, however, have villages consisting of houses arranged in a circle or semi-circle around a central plaza area. This spatial formation, like the Amazonian *malocas*, reflects the cosmic order.

Community relations in lowland South America are defined largely by gender, age and common residence, and expressed through socially recognized relationships, e.g. kin terms, naming and membership of groups such as clans, lineages or moieties. The dynamics of the relationships within and between the human, animal and spirit worlds are based on the principle of reciprocity or exchange and the means of continuing this interaction over time. Marriage is fundamental among lowland peoples because it binds the community into a series of exchange relationships which stretch beyond the spouses. In many cases husbands have to work for their parents-in-law providing the household with meat and gardens in return for rights to their wives and children. Marriage is also the means of distribution of meat within a community, whereby a man provides his in-laws or future in-laws with all or part of his catch.

Relations between communities are usually more distant and have more ritual expression. Frequently one community invites its neighbours to initiation rites, trading feasts and other ceremonial activities. These interconnections are some of the ways in which chains of communications pass from one group to another right across Amazonia. Exchange is also the mark of interaction between humans, animals and the invisible spirit world. Shamanic techniques range from dreaming to the taking of hallucinogens or tobacco which enables practitioners to contact controlling spirits, negotiate access to natural resources and bargain for the health of

sick persons. The spirit world is usually the common element binding the different parts of the universe into one coherent whole.

These broad similarities conceal large differences between regions within lowland South America. Unfortunately, only a few areas have been recorded in enough detail to trace general patterns. The peoples of the Guianas, for example, have certain features common to their societies – small and impermanent settlements, similar relationship terminologies, and a preference for marrying within the settlement.[12] The northwest Amazon peoples have patrilineal systems which intermarry and define residence groups by descent, thereby expressing social continuity over time. Among the Gê groups of central Brazil, a complex ceremonial system of named membership in moieties and age-sets provide continuity and a social persona to individuals outside of their kin and familial ties.

The consequences of encroachment on indigenous lands have severely disrupted traditional life in lowland South America. The removal of women to work as servants or cheap labour in towns severely affects community life while the destruction of the forest and the entry of industry has depleted much of the usual forest stock of game, leaving many communities with shortages. Apart from the threat to the resource base, indigenous peoples are finding that the influence of missionaries has spelt – for some groups – the end of the communal houses, dispersed homesteads and traditional rituals as the Indians are gathered together in villages and undergo a 're-education' process. This is a cultural ethnocide which divests their world of its meaning.

Demographic data on indigenous peoples is notoriously difficult to interpret because so much depends on definitions and preconceptions used by those collecting and presenting the data. The following figures are those available on current evidence:

Country	Andean	Rainforest	Other	Total
Venezuela		100,000	50,000	150,000
Colombia	200,000	100,000		300,000
Ecuador	3,000,000	65,000		3,065,000
Peru	9,000,000	100,000		9,100,000
Bolivia	4,000,000	150,000		4,150,000
Chile	1,010,000		5,000	1,015,000
Argentina	150,000	100,000	100,000	350,000
Paraguay		50,000	30,000	80,000
Brazil		100,000	125,000	225,000
Guyana		45,000		45,000
Surinam		8,000		8,000
Fr. Guiana		4,500		4,500
Total	**17,360,000**	**822,500**	**310,000**	**18,492,500**

General estimates of other figures:

Uncontacted – obviously impossible to say but there are probably only a few thousand uncontacted indigenous peoples in South America at most.

Between 10% and 25% of all indigenous peoples live in urban areas. The bulk of this figure comes from Peru where several million highlanders still retaining their Quichua identity live in Lima, many escaping from the violence in the Andes.

In Brazil about 10% of Indian land is recognized and that figure is reflected more or less throughout the continent although, in the highlands of Peru, more than 60% of communities were granted titles during the Agrarian reform.

The larger groups such as those in the Andean areas and the larger rainforest groups are increasing their population whereas the smaller groups, particularly those under 1000, are trying to stabilize their numbers and prevent them falling further. Some small groups, particularly those in Tierra del Fuego and smaller remnants of other groups such as the Arasaeri, Toyeri etc. in Peru, face extinction when the last few remaining survivors die.

The destruction of Amerindian life has been continuing for 500 years. Beginning with death by violence and disease, the contact relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous has invariably led to loss of lands, social forms and culture. This section has presented a background to the problems facing the indigenous South Americans which stem from one source – colonization. Even the State formation at independence from Spain and Portugal had no ameliorating effect on their conditions. Colonization is the deprivation of, and the refusal to recognize, the right to self-determination. For Amerindians this right is based on control of their own territories and the freedom to live their own lives in accordance with their traditions, desires and aspirations for development. Indigenous peoples of South America are still fighting colonialism in its various forms and an account of the international dimensions of this struggle follows.

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE – INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

The World Political Economy

The Amerindians of South America have been enmeshed in international colonial relations ever since the invasions of the 16th century. Centres of economic and political power have held an ever-expanding area in a dependency based on a craving for the resources of indigenous territories.

As the demands of the world market change, different resources assume predominant significance. Spain's major interest in Latin America was eventually silver mining. Between 1530 and 1660 nearly 17 million kg. were produced at the cost of many thousands of Indian lives. Brazil supplied Europe with gold from the Minas Gerais and sugar from the northeastern plantations. After the decimation of the local Indian population in the 17th century, there was a shortage of labour, so slaves were brought from Africa to work the plantations. This played a significant role in the subsequent ethnic formation of Guiana and Brazil.

Spain and Portugal were never able to utilize the wealth they had amassed from the American colonies to develop their own European economies enough to break away from their dependent relations with the Netherlands, France and Britain. Although they held a relatively small land base in the sugar plantations of Guiana, these three European powers controlled the international economy of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and vied for control over the world mercantile markets. Britain eventually gained predominance over the South American economy, in spite of having been defeated at the River Plate in Argentina in 1806-7. A long-standing political alliance with Portugal already gave Britain an economic hold over Brazil's exports and, after breaking the power of Napoleonic France in Europe, its position was pre-eminent. By making full use of an official neutrality, Britain captured most of the trading possibilities which appeared during the independence struggle of Spanish America.[13]

After independence there was an enormous increase in migrants from Europe to South America, many of whom took over Indian lands. This was made easier by Bolivar's land reforms in the highlands which opened up indigenous territories for individual acquisition. The result was the creation of large *haciendas* throughout the countryside, as colonists bought landholdings from poor Indian peasants.

The Republics experienced an increase of economic activity until 1873. Expanding Western European markets broadened the world economy and created a continuous demand for basic resources. Peru built its economy on guaco fertilizer while, to the east, Brazil and Argentina took over more Indian lands to develop their cattle exports. Brazil also considerably increased exports of cotton, sugar and coffee in the first decade of the 19th century, encroaching still further on Indian lands. All countries experienced the development of roads, railways, steamships, telegraphs and the founding of banks. Improved communication networks and increased export potential made hitherto inaccessible regions of the continent available for permanent exploitation. This not only enabled Britain to monopolize the valuable copper and nitrate mining in Chile but made possible the infrastructure necessary for the rubber boom. During the last years of the 19th century, Sterling was the main currency unit in the Amazon demonstrating British economic control over the rubber boom. In 1910, rubber constituted one third of Peru's exports. The end of the First World War along with the ending of the nitrate and rubber booms, however, marked the end of British economic supremacy in South America.

The political and economic history of Latin America's independent states in the 19th century was dominated by the dictatorial control of *caudillos*. They propped up their tenuous power bases with military backing and large foreign loans which were paid by exporting primary resources to industrialized countries. Foreign business frequently operated in enclaves whereby it extracted these resources directly, supporting any government prepared to allow

them access. The freedom granted to these foreign interests resulted in the 'blind eye' which governments turned to the genocidal abuses of indigenous peoples – particularly in the case of the rubber boom.

In the 20th century, changes in the world economy brought new political forces into view. By the 1890s the United States had sufficiently developed its own industry to seek more power abroad, and by the 1920s United Fruit were operating in Venezuela and oil companies were looking for deposits in the Amazon. Between 1919 and 1929 US foreign investments in the Andean countries rose from $10 million to $316 million. Indeed, throughout the 1920s the regimes of South America borrowed on an unprecedented scale. Rapid industrialization attracted large numbers of colonists and indigenous peoples to the cities. Out of these masses emerged movements which were prepared to challenge the power of the oligarchies who backed the *caudillos*. The ideological background for these movements were in the 19th century humanitarian and positivist traditions. Among these ideas arose the concept of 'indigenism', particularly in Peru, where writers such as Gonzalez Prado and Mariátegui advocated a nationalism which included the incorporation of indigenous social and philosophical ideals.

The world economic crisis in the 1930s almost brought international trade to a halt. A wave of populist and nationalist feeling swept the continent emerging as reforming governments in Brazil, Argentina, Chile and later in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. These governments advocated import substitution, debt repudiation and income redistribution. The middle classes united with urban workers and industrialists to break the power of the landed and commercial élites who had been backed by foreign capital. Even in Colombia, Venezuela and Paraguay, where the movement was less strong, its presence was clearly felt from the 1940s onwards. In this climate the ideology of indigenism grew and became more acceptable. The forerunner of official indigenist institutes was the Indian Protection Service (SPI) which had been set up in Brazil in 1910. The Service's task was to contact Indian groups and protect them until such time as they were ready for national integration. The 1940s saw the first so-called indigenist institutes in South America, following a Mexican example. These were based in Peru and Venezuela and had a larger research orientation than the Brazilian SPI. The economic shift from foreign to domestic production did not relieve the plight of indigenous peoples. Where countries had resources ready for export (oil in the Amazon, tin or copper in Bolivia and Peru, and coffee in Brazil, for example) foreign interests continued to hold direct power. In those sectors where countries sought to develop their domestic economies, they still needed to exploit resources which lay in indigenous territories and so the governments encouraged 'internal colonialist' policies. [14]

For the 20 years following World War II, South America saw a major industrial expansion in the wake of the post-war boom. However, foreign capital was still in demand. Despite import substitution, South America still had to buy capital goods. By the mid-1960s these costs rose dramatically as the industrial boom declined. Economic crises resulted in several countries and led to military dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. During this period international banks began to look for clients to whom they could lend money – a trend which increased in the 1970s after the rise in oil prices. The South American countries needed to prop up their continued industrial expansion with more capital and they took full advantage of these loans. To repay them while increasing domestic economic expansion, governments put an increasing pressure on indigenous peoples. In Brazil, foreign companies and international lending banks tightened control over the economic structure between 1964 and 1984 while pushing the colonizing frontier more completely into indigenous areas than ever before. Roads stretching across the Amazon basin forced over 25 Indian nations to be removed and suffer decimation from contact with outsiders. Mining, agriculture, pastoralism and forest exploitation increased invasions on Indian lands while powerful interests within the renamed state organ for Indian protection – the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) – worked to facilitate the government's development plans. Other countries showed similar features. In Peru, the initial hopes of the progressive Velasco military government in the late 1960s were overturned by its successor, Morales Bermudez, who invited loans, foreign capital and business to develop mining and oil drilling throughout the lowlands. Similar developments were taking place in Ecuador and Colombia. The only country to strike oil in significant quantities has been Venezuela but, even here, the temptation to attract foreign loans has detracted from its benefits.

Currently the external debts of South American countries exceeds $250 million and the increasing crisis coupled with the world recession has seen a decline in military rule (Chile and Paraguay being the main exceptions). Dictators have stepped down and been replaced by democratic governments appealing to populist support. However, the military rarely completely let go of the reins and democracy has not shown any major improvements in the conditions of indigenous peoples. Land demarcation is either painfully slow or non-existent, and recession is leading to an increase in internal colonization of the jungle and pressure on resources in the highlands. The benefits of democracy have still not yet reached the Amerindians. Although the process of indigenism has been gaining ground in official circles (particularly as a result of ratifying the International Labour Organization's Convention 107 on Tribal and Indigenous Populations), indigenous peoples themselves have not been overenthusiastic about its results. In addition to Peru, Venezuela and Brazil, indigenist institutes have been in operation in Colombia (1967), Paraguay (1975) and Argentina (1983). However they, along with the Convention, are based on the paternalistic principles of protection and integration which are unacceptable to most indigenous peoples today.

The Amerindian response has been the formation of organizations based on self-determination and self-development. The earliest examples in the '60s and '70s were followed by increasing numbers – currently 250. This movement has been termed 'Indianist' as opposed to 'Indigenist'. It could be said that whereas the populist movements of the first half of the century saw the rise of Indigenism, the populist movements of the second half laid the conditions for Indianism.

In order to demonstrate how international interests directly affect indigenous peoples there follow several cases taken from the World Bank's work, multinational consortia and the business of international criminal activities. These studies are examples being discussed at present, but do not comprise a full list which would be beyond the confines of this Report.

Multinational Development Banks

Throughout the 20th century the political and economic influence of the United States has increased in South America. Apart from receiving on average 30-40% of each country's exports, the US invests millions of dollars in development support through the US Agency for International Development – USAID (which is directly accountable to the State Department), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). While with one hand USAID supports many indigenous organizations, with its other it joins the multilateral banks in projects which threaten indigenous peoples' very survival.

Pichis-Palcazu Special Project, Peru

In 1980 the Peruvian government under President Belaunde announced plans to invest $850 million to 'conquer the jungle' with colonization, roads and rural development. The plan was to settle 150,000 colonists from the poverty-stricken highlands and urban areas and raise lowland agricultural production. The main emphasis of the programme was to be the Pichis and Palcazu river areas, territories of the indigenous Yanesha and Ashaninka nations. Over the last six years, the IDB, USAID and the World Bank has divided the two valleys into five areas. The fears about the project have been that roads and rural development would bring in more colonists than the area could manage and that, as a result, the Yanesha and Ashaninka would suffer losses of land, sickness and usurpation of their economic base in the region. [15]

USAID countered criticism by ensuring the titling of community lands in the Palcazu valley and an extended social programme. The results of this have yet to be seen. The IDB's attempts at a similar scheme for recompensing the 8000 Ashaninka of the Pichis valley do not appear to be successful. Even though the project has arranged for 21 communities to receive titles, the areas are not large enough and the Ashaninka complain of poor training schemes, the encouragement of cultural changes and an unnecessary emphasis on cattle raising promotion. Although there have been attempts to 'cushion the shock' of development in the Pichis-Palcazu project, the fundamental principle of self-determination and indigenous peoples' control over projects which affect them, is not apparent.

The Northwest Region Integral Development Programme – Polonoroeste, Brazil

The Polonoroeste project is a $1.5 billion programme designed to pave 1500 km. of road in the west central Amazon of Brazil. The idea has been a

continuation of the disastrous road building schemes of the 1970s known as the 'Transamazonia Highway' which resulted in the deaths, relocation and disintegration of Indian nations right across the Amazon region. With a paved road, the Polonoroeste project has been designed to attract thousands of colonists from the poor northeastern areas of Brazil. The major financing body for Polonoroeste has been the World Bank which has supported the programme to the tune of nearly $500 million. Since 1983 up to 500,000 migrants have moved into the area onto unsuitable land which has resulted in failed crops and frequent indebtedness to local landowners. The deforestation in Rondonia has been more rapid than elsewhere in the Amazon and there have been devastating effects on the 8000 Indians of the area who constitute 40 different indigenous groups. Reduced subsistence, epidemics and invasions of their lands by colonists have caused innumerable problems for the Ureu-wau-wau, Nambikwara and the Gaviões.[16]

In February 1985, the World Bank temporarily held up payments on its loan for the Polonoroeste project because of the constant international protest. The Brazilian government responded by demarcating an area for the recently contacted Urueu-wau-wau, full legal titles for the Nambikwara and a demarcated area for the Tubarão-Latundê. In addition, at great cost, the government removed invaders from the Gaviõe reserve of Lourdes in April 1985. However, notwithstanding these positive steps there are still many problems.

These include: the lack of vigilante posts to warn if Indian territories are being invaded which exposes many groups to danger; incursions from lumber companies, especially in Roosevelt, Zoró and Aripuanã areas; lands still not demarcated by FUNAI for the Arua and Arara; hydroelectric projects resulting from Polonoroeste affected areas of Juina, Cayabi-Apiaca, Lourdes, Tubarão-Latundê and the Urue-wau-wau; unprocessed land claims of Aripuanã, Salumã and Zoro; environmental and health protection.

In addition to the problems in the Polonoroeste region, the government is still trying to get multilateral Bank loans to pave Highway 364 from Porto Velho in Rondonia to the Rio Branco in neighbouring Acre (also known as the Acre extension). The World Bank has already funded a planning study and is prepared to offer some money for demarcation of indigenous lands in the Acre area. However, in the light of the disasters which have beset their neighbours in Rondonia with the Polonoroeste, the indigenous communities in Acre and the rubber tapper communities have come together to oppose this development scheme.

Caazapá Regional Development Project, Paraguay

This World Bank funded project is situated in the southeast of Paraguay in the departments of Guaira and Caazapa as well as parts of Itapua and Alto Paraná. In spite of 20 years of funding projects in Paraguay, the World Bank has provided nothing for the indigenous communities affected. The Caazapá, at its inception 3 years ago, was to be something different. The Paraguayan authorities were to be funded to make a study of the Mby'a Guarani people in the project area. In spite of this, no studies have been carried out and the project has gone ahead. Cast in a similar mould to Polonoroeste, the Caazapa project consists of a road-paving scheme accompanied by infrastructural development, settling new migrants and opening up the area for business, particularly lumber companies which are creating an enormous deforestation problem. The project area is 381,600 ha. and stands to affect at least 14 Mby'a communities. One already under threat is that of Castor-Cué-Pacuri, part of whose lands were parcelled out into allotments for colonists in 1984.

Multinational Enterprise

Multinational companies operate throughout South America and it is only possible here to provide some examples from among the most well-documented cases. Whereas the Multilateral Development Banks tend to make enormous loans for infrastructure, the companies specialize in extractive, agricultural, pastoral or energy concerns. The studies presented below look at each of these in turn.

Extractive

There are severe repercussions for indigenous peoples from mining companies working on the Gran Carajas project in Brazil. The core of the $62 billion project, based in Brazil's eastern Amazon, is an enormous deposit of iron ore which has been exploited by various companies including US Steel and the Brazilian State-owned Companhia Vale do Rio Doce. In 1982 the European Economic Community granted the project a $600 million loan to gain cheap iron for Europe's beleaguered steel industry. In addition to the iron mining, the Gran Carajás has an enormous number of related projects: a 900 km. railway to transport the iron ore to the sea at São Louis, a group of large dams on the Tocantins river, road construction and mining for other minerals in the region. An estimated 5000 Indian people are affected by the Gran Carajas project – The Parakana, Gavioe, Apinaye, Amanaye and Asurini, to name only a few.[17]

The Amazon has been providing oil for multinational companies since the 1960s when Texaco Gulf started producing in the Putumayo district of Colombia. By 1968-9 the Orito field had 47 wells and a pipeline to the Pacific. Similar events were taking place in Ecuador at the same time where a pipeline was in operation by 1972.[18] In Peru during the late 1960s and early 1970s concessions were being handed out to foreign oil companies despite Petroperu being the nationalized body. By 1974, 28 foreign companies held 16 blocks for oil exploitation in the Amazon while Petroperu held only 8. Although not as brutal as the rubber boom, the oil boom affected indigenous peoples throughout the Amazon by opening up paths, encouraging colonists and bringing in diseases.[19] In addition, the explosions from the testing sites cause much disruption to the forest fauna on which many groups rely for their hunting. At present, over half the Peruvian Amazon is divided into 50 areas or lots controlled by Texaco in the north and Shell in the south.

Agriculture

Ecuador is currently the centre of widespread exploitation of the African palm. In the Napo province, 20,000 ha. of rainforest have been destroyed to grow palms and future plans intend to devastate another 200,000 ha. Apart from the unsuitability of African palm for Amazonian soils, in order to combat weed growth, companies are using herbicides which have severely polluted the local rivers and streams. Two main companies are working in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Palmeras del Ecuador has backing from France, Belgium and Luxembourg, and Palmoriente is supported by Belgium, Britain and West Germany. Ecuador provides about half the investment in both companies. About 5000 indigenous peoples from the Amazon are affected by palm projects. They are mainly Quichua, Waorani, Siona and Secoya. These nations are currently facing invasions by colonists while the government does nothing to help – on the contrary, indigenous land has already been handed over to the companies by the government which refuses to recognize previously granted titles. If the present plan goes ahead, over 50 communities in the Ecuadorian Amazon will face invasion and possible eviction by the African Palm companies.[20]

Colombia, Peru and Bolivia have become centres for another multinational enterprise – the production of cocaine. Traditionally the indigenous peoples of these countries produced sufficient amounts of coca leaves for their general and ceremonial needs. In recent years, however, factories for transforming the coca leaf into cocaine have become a standard feature of the remote areas of the lowland rainforests. Coca is big business and, although not officially legal, has been tacitly accepted by the governments of these countries. Indeed, 80% of Bolivia's income, since the fall in the price of tin, comes from cocaine production. Coca is grown in enclaves, on plantations of up to 30,000 ha., processed into cocaine and sent to Colombia from where it is exported to the United States and Europe. Indigenous communities suffer greatly from the cocaine boom as they find themselves caught between unscrupulous dealers and the armed forces (including, now, the US military who have been attacking cocaine bases in Bolivia and Peru). In Peru, the Ashaninka and other poor peasants have found themselves attacked by both sides or else forced to work in the plantations. The cocaine business in its enclave form is the product most similar to that of rubber in the 19th century, and its full – perhaps disastrous – effects on indigenous peoples remains to be seen.

Cattle Ranching

By the 1970s, 600,000 people had moved into the Mato Grosso region of Brazil to exploit cattle. The government decided that they should promote meat production and even sliced a part of reserved lands of the Xingu Park peoples to build Highway BR-080 for transporting cattle. Other groups severely hit by the cattle boom were the Xavante, Karajá and Tapirapa nations. Multinational corporations were eager to exploit the 'cow rush' and before long the cattle ranching areas had increased. The Jari Forestry and Ranching Company of Daniel Ludwig, the Italian firm Liquigas and Volkswagen all held areas of between 50,000 and 250,000 acres. The largest interests were US companies such as King Ranch, Deltec and the Canadian company Bracson, which in the late 1970s controlled about 30% of Brazil's beef market. These cattle ranches are today dominated by the insatiable demand of McDonalds Hamburger and Burger King for meat which currently constitutes the greatest deforestation threat in the Amazon region of Brazil.

Between 1978 and 1982 the Peruvian department of Madre de Dios had 750,000 acres taken over by a company called Central American Services. Backed with money from the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and the notorious Banco Ambrosiani in Italy, the company almost succeeded in destroying the department's Brazil nut economy and started its scheme to introduce 240,000 head of cattle over the next 20 years. The project threatened the ecosystem of the Madre de Dios and the land and hunting rights of the indigenous Amarakaeri and other nations living in the region. Fortunately, permission from the government was not forthcoming, but this is not to say that the scheme or the company will not reappear in a new guise.

The hold of the international economy over indigenous peoples in South America can be seen, from these examples, to come in at least three ways. Firstly the debts owed by States to powerful economic countries and international institutions puts pressure on them to pay off the interest by cutting down on progressive policies. As a consequence States try to raise their export potential to pay off their debts by increasing the exploitation of their economic resources. To do this they need the technical support of those same powerful interests to whom they are indebted. The result is that multilateral banks and international companies are made welcome and the rights of indigenous nations affected are ignored. Thirdly, in true enclave situations, such as the cocaine trade, the extraction of resources takes place avoiding official channels. However, in all three cases, foreign exploitation of national resources and the consequent threats on the lives and lands of indigenous peoples can only take place with government consent and with the consent of the international interests involved.

An interesting area of further study on this subject would be an overall comparison of government, multinational and internal capital investment in projects affecting indigenous peoples in South America. This would, however, be difficult because many multinationals operate in the guise of national private enterprises and so-called nationalized industries are often in the hands of international concerns. What would be of greatest significance here would be not so much the investment percentage but the interrelationships between the different interest groups.

The Church

The Christian Church in South America consists of several multinational institutions which, with the agreement of most governments, take their proselytizing to indigenous communities.

There is no doubt that in many parts of South America the Church is working in favour of indigenous peoples. In Brazil, for example, the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), and in Peru, the Amazonian Centre of Anthropology and Applied Practice (CAAAP) publish and actively help indigenous peoples. Furthermore, in many isolated parts of the highland and lowland regions individual missionaries work to support Indian communities. However, beyond these positive aspects of missionary work, the Church is still, essentially, a group of proselytizing institutions. Missionary work in South America is divided between Catholic orders which are mainly from Europe and the Protestant sects which come mainly from the United States. The rivalry of Catholic and Protestant reaches right down into indigenous communities and can cause division and confusion from their conflicting approaches to life.

Indigenous reaction to missionaries varies. Some disregard their traditional beliefs and take on the trappings of Christianity, others ignore mission work altogether. Most, however, adopt new features from the other religion to their own beliefs and incorporate them to varying degrees. Sometimes this takes the form, as among the Hallelujah cults of Guyana, the messianic movements of Northern Peru and Bolivia, of syncretic reformulations of religion, whereas in other cases, such as of the Amarakaeri in southeastern Peru, they explain Christian ideas within their own cosmology without changing their traditional religion to a marked extent.

Catholic missionaries work on a congregational basis where they attract Indians to come and live on mission stations which are rather like small versions of the Jesuit *reductions* of the 16th and 17th centuries. The priests are intermediaries between God and the congregation and are therefore in a position to hold both economic and spiritual power. Economic power is concentrated in the missions which are usually modelled on Iberian farming communities containing feudalistic elements. Farming, forestry and especially cattle raising are the staples of the mission. Produce is either sold through the priests or under their supervision. The mission usually runs a shop which raises further income and, in several cases, the priests take control of development projects on behalf of the indigenous members of the mission.[21] Education in Catholic missions has traditionally been designed to bring children together and away from the influence of their parents and culture into a boarding school where they would be prohibited from speaking in their own languages and schooled in Spanish and Portuguese. In Brazil, until comparatively recently, Latin was taught in some Salesian mission schools with the intention of showing the world that indigenous peoples are capable of understanding the 'international language of high culture'.

Catholic missions have been ethnocidal institutions because of the way in which they disregard traditional indigenous economic and political organization. In many parts of South America, priests have prohibited or ridiculed rituals, the building of *malocas* and ignored marriage rules when arranging unions. Bringing indigenous peoples together into artificial communities many times larger than traditional settlements invariably leads to problems as tensions build up into conflicts.

Recently, however, there has been a change in Catholic missionary work in some areas of South America, and this has led to more progressive ideas about education. Missionaries, influenced by 'liberation theology', have studied anthropology and moved out into the communities, arguing that until Indian peoples have their basic rights recognized and live free from exploitation, they will not be able to see the benefits of Christianity.

Protestant missions have made it their practice to work in communities either individually or in pairs. Unlike the Catholics, fundamentalist Protestantism is based on a more individualistic theology where each person has to be saved from eternal damnation by baptism into the Church. The conditions of life are not too important as long as no one commits sin. By 'sin' the Protestants mean traditional religions which are 'demon worship', and Marxism.

Two of the best-equipped Protestant organizations are the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the New Tribes Mission (NTM). These institutions provide substantial back-up for their field workers who are in constant radio contact and have air communication with the mission base.

Summer Institute of Linguistics

The Summer Institute of Linguistics presents itself, not as a missionary organization, but as a linguistic and cultural institution. SIL and the Wycliffe Bible Translators are two connected halves of a dual identity. SIL is the scientific and linguistic part and the WBT does the missionary work. However, in practice, the major translation efforts go into making the Bible available in indigenous languages and field workers invariably proselytize the evangelical and fundamentalist traditions of Protestantism. SIL's budget in 1975 was about $17 million. Its finances are raised mainly in the USA from private and business donations, although USAID does support specific bi-lingual projects.[22] Currently, SIL's major work in South America is in Peru from its central jungle base of Yarinacocha. Apart from many field workers throughout the lowlands, SIL has been moving into the Andean regions in recent years. Bolivia also receives SIL field workers as does Brazil, Surinam and, for advisory work, Paraguay. The contract between SIL and the Colombian government was annulled in June 1986 and, although the Ecuadorian government expelled them in 1983, there are plans to allow them back. SIL's work in South America has many critics, particularly amongst indigenous peoples. One reason for this stems from the organization's ambiguity in disclaiming its missionary work while carrying it out openly. Another problem arises from SIL's reliance on South American national governments whose permission they need to continue operations. The governments most likely to welcome them are those which rely on US support and international backing – usually less progressive and rightist governments. SIL's reluctance to criticize these governments along with its anti-communist/anti-left stand has shaped its political profile. In Indian communities, SIL's work can be destructive. The banning of alcohol, traditional religion and the introduction of individualistic values have caused problems and divisions within communities. On the other hand, SIL has been responsible for advocating bi-lingual education in community schools, and in the recent contact with the Nahua people of southeastern Peru provided badly needed medicines without charging for them.

The New Tribes Mission

The New Tribes Mission is a fundamentalist Protestant missionary organization based in Florida, USA. Like SIL, it is a world-wide organization with missionaries in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay. Also like SIL, the NTM has received finance from

USAID and private donations (in all $10 million a year). The approach of NTM has several similarities with SIL. The missionaries live in indigenous communities where they learn the language and translate the Bible before full proselytizing begins. However, hymn singing and talking about God takes place from first contact and efforts are made to turn the community away from its traditional religion which is treated as 'devil worship'. Much of NTM's work has been criticized for its ethnocidal effects and some critics have gone further, accusing them of serving the interests of US intelligence agencies. In 1979 the Venezuelan government ordered an investigation into the work of NTM during which accusations came from the military, anthropologists, Catholics and intellectuals. The government took no action and NTM continues to work in Venezuela from their base at Tamatama on the upper Orinoco. In 1983, disturbing reports were published of NTM's activities in the Chaco area of Paraguay and Bolivia.[23] There missionaries have been trying to contact those Ayoreo Indians still in the bush and settle them in specially created mission communities. After tracking down the isolated groups of Ayoreo from light aircraft, armed missionized Indians bring them to the mission. The effects of contact by the NTM has led to Ayoreo dying from diseases and trauma from culture shock. Reports from Survival International in January 1987 show that Indian hunts are still taking place.

World Vision

World Vision is another Protestant missionary organization. Unlike SIL and NTM its main activities are in the realm of development where it aims to alleviate the most poverty-stricken individuals in society. Founded in 1950 in the United States, World Vision receives donations from business and private individuals in both North America and Europe. Its work in South America has been centred in Ecuador where it has replaced SIL as the major Protestant organization. World Vision entered Ecuador in 1973 but its work increased during 1979 and it eventually obtained the government support which SIL had previously received. WV's projects deal with literacy and community development, but its most controversial programme is that of adoption. When WV workers enter communities they select poor children for sponsorship by wealthy people in other countries. The problem with this scheme is that societies which run on communal lines can be severely disrupted when particular families become better off than the others. This divisiveness is further exacerbated with support reaching mainly, if not only, adherents to Protestantism. The result has been some cases of conflict within communities between Catholics and Protestants and calls by indigenous organizations for WV's expulsion.[24]

Economic and religious intervention in Amerindian societies can take two forms. The anti-indigenous form destroys life, land and culture, whereas the more fashionable approach now is the indigenist way which softens the blows of heavy-handed integration. However the end result is the same – the initiative for change and self-development is taken out of the hands of indigenous peoples who are paternalistically guided onto the right path.

The effects of multinational economics and religion on indigenous peoples, however, is mediated nationally and locally by means of the nation-State. The political struggle of indigenous peoples starts with the country in which they live and their relationship to government. The next Section deals with this subject.

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE – THE NATION-STATE

During this Report indigenous peoples are frequently referred to as 'nations'. Nation in this context refers to a people of common descent, language and history who usually inhabit a territory bounded by defined limits and form a society under one system of government. The nation-State is a political apparatus which nominally draws together the nation or nations and their individual members into one entity. However, the relationship between the State and the nation varies considerably. In South America there is an enormous disjunction between the indigenous nations of the continent and its constituent nation-States. This is because the State does not represent the interests of most of its nations – on the contrary, they are, more often than not, subsumed within a fictitious model of State-nationalism based on a European or North American precedent.

The following survey of the States of South America is designed to show the relationship between each country and its indigenous nations. Each example will cover general information, the legal position of indigenous peoples and the major problems facing them.[25] This section does not deal with indigenous organizations which are the subject of the following chapter.

Venezuela

Area and population
352,143 square miles – 15 million people

Indigenous nations
There are about 150,000 indigenous peoples in Venezuela who are divided into about 30 language groups. About one-third of the indigenous population live in the southern half of the country on affluents of the Amazon and Orinoco and the other two-thirds are divided between Zulia State around Lake Maracaibo in the northwest and the Delta of the Orinoco river.

Country and government
Venezuela is divided into 20 States and 2 territories. Each State is autonomous with its own assembly. The central government operates under the democratic constitution of 1958. Venezuela's GNP per capita is about $4,500, its major product being oil. The United States receives 40% of its exports and provides 45% of its imports.

Indigenous legislation
During the Spanish colonial regime, the *encomienda* system controlled the Indians, but they retained *resguardos* (communally held reserved land) until after independence. Between 1821 and 1936 the State tried to destroy these and largely succeeded. In order to exploit the interior of the country, Dictator Juan Vicente Gomez passed the *Ley de Misiones* in 1915 which gave the Catholic Church the responsibility of conversion and integration of the indigenous population.

In 1948 the foundation of the National Indigenist Commission showed that the government was taking more direct interest in the investigation of indigenous issues. This was followed in 1952 by the Central Office of Indigenous Affairs (OCAI) which became the technical arm of the Commission. Although the 1959 Decree Law 20 gave the Commission power to work independently of the Church, in practice this did not happen until the late 1960s.

After the establishment of democracy, an Agrarian Reform Law in 1960 recognized certain indigenous rights to land. The body responsible for the Reform's implementation is the National Institute of Agronomy (IAN), which, since the 1970s, has granted land titles to about 100 communities and set up indigenous organizations. A criticism of the titling is that the areas are too small to provide for basic subsistence and that IAN too often imposed its own ideas rather than listening to what the Indians wanted.

Recently OCAI (known as ORAI – Regional Offices of Indigenous Affairs) has been transferred to the Ministry of Education from Internal Affairs with a further diminishing of its small powers. Similar events have happened to IAN and the other government institutions working with indigenous peoples. The government seems reluctant to take any major initiative on indigenous affairs at the moment.

Indigenous affairs
Throughout Venezuela, invasions of indigenous territories by colonists, ranchers and miners are frequent. Medical facilities are poor with tuberculosis and hepatitis being particularly widespread.

In Zulia State, bordering Colombia, a positive step has been the creation of a reserve for the **Bari** nation, although they are facing problems from drug traffickers in the region. Last year the Bari protested vigorously against a landowner who has taken over and destroyed 80 ha. of their titled lands.

The **Wayuu (Guajiro)**, **Yukpas**, **Paujanos** all share the same major problem of colonists (especially ranchers) taking over their lands. Many of these landless Indians go to Machiques or Maracaibo where they have settled in poor settlements on the outskirts of the town. There are estimates that as many as 1000 of these people have died in the last five years.[26]

The **Warao** and **Kariñas** of the northeast are both affected by oil exploration. The Kariñas have territory occupied by the Mene Grande Oil Company and the Warao have had their lands invaded by the Corporacion Venezolâna de Guyana which has operated in the Orinoco Delta, severely damaging the ecology of the area.

The **Piaroa** of the Amazonas Territory have been harassed and attacked by local landowners including one who is trying to take over IAN titled land in the Valle de Guanay – an area of 50,000 ha. Another problem affecting the Piaroa stems from bauxite mining on their lands. This problem also exists on **Pemon** and **Akwayo** territory. The **Panara** live adjacent to mining and ranching activities and from time to time they come into conflict with the expanding frontier.[27]

The **Ye'cuana**, after land invasions in 1969, suffered internal fragmentation of their political structure and now face further divisions stemming from rival religious institutions. The neighbouring **Yanomami**, like all the indigenous nations of the region, suffer from inadequate health facilities which have been described in terms of 'genocide by neglect'.[28] Disease is the greatest killer of Amerindians and the potential exterminator of whole nations of indigenous people. The Yanomami in Venezuela have been the subjects of an international campaign to create a Yanomami Indian Reserve (parallel to one taking place in Brazil). A suggestion for a Biosphere reserve has also been suggested; however, the government and the military are interested in neither possibility at present. The Yanomami are threatened by tourism. After a 1987 campaign a Danish travel

company cancelled plans for trips to the Yanomami but the Venezuelan government is still interested in promoting the idea.

Throughout Venezuela, the work of the New Tribes Mission has received much criticism. Although in some communities they have sown their seeds in fertile ground, the ethnocidal results of their work are being constantly attacked by indigenous organizations.

Colombia

Area and population
456,535 square miles – 15 million people

Indigenous nations
There are about 300,000 indigenous peoples in Colombia comprising more than 60 different nations. They live in a marked variety of ecological zones, ranging from the southwestern Andean areas to the coastal and Amazonian rainforests and the plains of the northeast.

Country and government
Colombia consists of departments, having abolished its State structure in 1886. The central government has been a democracy since 1958 with liberal and conservative parties in power. Colombia's per capita GNP is $1,180. Its major product is coffee which constitutes 50% of its exports. The largest trading partner is the United States, followed by Japan and West Germany.

Indigenous legislation
Colombia shares several features of its indigenous legislation with Venezuela. In the southwest Andean region, *resguardos* (reserves) are still in existence from colonial times, although much indigenous territory has been stolen and is held in private hands. Many communities are fighting to retain their lands and regain what has been encroached.

The 1890 Indian Statute Law 89 recognized indigenous communities and legalized an agreement to place all non-Christians under missionary supervision. Law 72 of 1892 set up mission territories which established a theocratic regime in indigenous areas. After a further agreement in 1959, three-quarters of the area of Colombia became mission land.

The Division of Indigenous Affairs (DAI) was set up under the Ministry of Government in 1960 to recognize Indian communities. Its work has been mainly in the Cauca valley and the northern Sierra Nevada. The DAI has had an inspection service, advisory body and eight commissions on indigenous affairs. In 1982 the National Development Programme for Indigenous Populations (PRODEIN) was established to promote the protection and integration of indigenous peoples of Colombia (as stipulated in ILO Convention 107). The effect of the DAI on indigenous rights has, however, been minimal.

Law 135 of 1961 set up the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA). INCORA's responsibility is to create reserve lands for indigenous groups. Government sources say that 34 reserves and 113 *resguardos* were created between 1966 and 1985. However, many of these take the form of parcels of land which families have to buy. The hardship which this can cause as well as the pressures from non-Indian landowners have limited INCORA's successes.

Indigenous affairs
The Cauca region of the southwest is the mountainous home of 200,000 Chibcha-speaking **Paez** and **Guambiano** Indians. Since the 19th century their lands have been stolen for making coffee plantations to the extent that by 1970, 80% of the area was held by 14% of the landowners. The Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca (CRIC) has had success in regaining lost lands by means of peaceful reoccupation. In 1984 an occupation at the farm of Lopez Adentro resulted in an eviction of the Indians, but they continue to live outside their *resguardo* and demand recognition of their claim.

Mass protests by the Indians at events in Lopez Adentro led to militarization of the area by the government. The indigenous communities of the southwest are particularly hard hit by attempts from the armed forces to move them from their lands, as happened at La Trampa and Finca San Andres in March 1986. A government cease-fire agreement with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) – a pro-Moscow guerrilla organization – has led to attacks on indigenous communities such as happened in Tome in Popayán during October 1985. In these cases both the government and guerrillas are collaborating with landowners against Indian land rights. Indian leaders are being singled out for attack in this war and recently over 100 were killed.[29] In response some Indians have formed the Indian guerrilla group *Comando Quintin Lame*.

North of the mountains of Cauca lie the coastal rainforests stretching up to Panama. Here groups such as the **Cuna** and **Embera** have managed to retain their cultural identity in spite of constant threats of land invasions from colonists and oil companies. However, reserved lands of the Cuna community of Arquia have been reduced from 10,000 to 2000 ha.[30]

To the east, on the border with Venezuela, the **Wayuu (Guajiro)** have had 50,000 ha. of their land granted to CARBOCOL mining company and the Colombian Tourist Corporation. The presence of multinational mining companies in their territory not only takes land but spreads pollution throughout the area.

On the eastern Colombian plains, there was a cattle boom in the 1960s after the period of civil strife known as 'La Violencia'. Several hundred thousand colonists moved into the area encouraged by the land titles from INCORA. The indigenous Guahibo-speaking peoples were the most hard hit. 16 **Cuiva** were killed at La Rubiera in 1967 and until 1971 there was fighting between Indians and colonists in the Planas area.[31] Whereas some of the landowners in the area have farms up to 70,000 ha. in size, total Indian land amounts to 14,000 ha. Even this land is not secure while invasions and occupation by colonists continue. The **Guahibo** have, since 1975, been demanding from the government a reserved area for their 34 communities of the eastern plains.

In the eastern rainforests, further south, the indigenous nations of the Amazonian Vaupés face similar problems as the Indians of the coastal rainforest. Ethnocidal practices by missionaries coupled with threats of land invasion by colonists will not be stopped until the Indian's land rights are recognized.

Ecuador

Area and population
300,000 square miles – 9.3 million

Indigenous nations
The majority of the nearly 3 million indigenous peoples of Ecuador live in the highlands. These **Quichua**-speaking groups are the most numerous inhabitants of the eastern Amazon comprising about 30,000 persons. The **Shuar** are another large Amazonian group (20,000). The remaining 15,000 lowland Indians belong to five smaller nations – **Wrarani**, **Cofán**, **Secoyas**, **Siona** and **Zaparos**. The coastal region contains three small nations with a population of 6500.

Country and government
Ecuador has 20 provinces which are largely divided into cantons and parishes. The central government has followed a democratic pattern since 1979, after a decade of largely military dictatorships. Ecuador's GNP per capita is about $1,000. Its major exports are oil (61%), coffee (12%), cocoa (12%) and bananas (10%). The United States receives the majority of Ecuador's exports and provides most of its imports.

Indigenous legislation
There is no legislation in Ecuador which singles out the indigenous population as having any rights of its own. In 1964 an Agrarian Reform Law was passed which was designed to modernize the whole of Ecuador's agriculture. Forced labour (*huasipungo*) was abolished and inefficient *haciendas* were expropriated. There was little effect on the inequality of land distribution, however, and in 1973 a second law was introduced. The Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization (IERAC) was given the power to grant land titles to both Indians and colonists.

Although IERAC has helped to reduce the number of *haciendas*, the titling process has been slow. In addition the Institute has encouraged colonization into the Amazon by providing new settlers with infrastructural support and titled lands. IERAC has, on the positive side, recognized communal titles for some Shuar and Quichua communities and for very small reserve lands to the smaller northern lowland groups. However, the emphasis is still on individual title which indigenous peoples reject because of its disintegrative effect on community life.

In 1985, after the Pope made a statement in Ecuador calling for the respect of Indian rights, the government of León Febres Cordero set up the DNPI (the National Office of Indigenous Peoples) to 'defend Indian People, create appropriate legislation and initiate programmes and projects for Indian organization and development'. However, most indigenous peoples of Ecuador have dismissed this as a cosmetic exercise which has had the effect of dividing the Indian people because it does not work with the established organizations.

Indigenous affairs
In spite of the work of IERAC and the Agrarian Reform, the economic inequalities of the highland areas of Ecuador remain and many Indian communities lack basic communal titles to their lands. Since the 19th century the best land has been taken for owners who have used indigenous labour for their profit. Indigenous communities now exist in the poorer regions and have to purchase titles at exorbitant prices from the government. Groups such as the **Otavala** have managed this by developing their artisan work, but they are an exception. Shortage of land in the highlands has increased migration to the cities and to the lowlands. Stresses within communities in such difficult situations have been exacerbated by the disruptive conflicts between organizations such as World Vision and the Catholic Church mentioned earlier.

The coastal areas have witnessed several economic booms in this century – cocoa, banana and coffee being the three major crops. The 1500 **Colorados** of Pichincha have retreated into the forest to avoid the encroaching frontier and, in spite of having seven reserved areas, still face invasions from settlers. The 2000 **Cayapas** face similar problems from neighbouring Negro and *Mestizo* farmers who are pushing them onto small river territories.

The first major exploitation of the Ecuadorian Amazon this century was for oil. During the boom of the 1970s roads, pipelines and settlements were

built throughout the region and – in conjunction with the Agrarian Reform – colonists from the highlands and coast were encouraged to escape from their poverty by moving to the forest. Between 10% and 15% of the Ecuadorian Amazon was destroyed during the oil boom – particularly lands of the **Quichua, Waorani, Cofán Siona** and **Secoya** in the north. Even though oil exploitation affects Indian communities, the major current threat is the multinational exploitation of the African Palm – discussed in the previous Section.

Colonization is a serious threat to the future of the lowland Indians of Ecuador. Colonists currently outnumber indigenous inhabitants of the region by three to one and continue to gain titles to land for their ranching, lumber and agricultural production.[12] The **Shuar** who, in 1964, were the first lowland indigenous nation in South America to form their own organization, have been suffering the effects of colonization since the 1950s. They are also facing serious problems from the destructive effects of cattle-ranching which the government is encouraging them to promote.

Violence has erupted between the Shuar and the colonists and this pattern has been repeated all over the Amazon. In September 1985, fighting broke out between Waorani Indians and invading colonists during which a colonist was killed and several indigenous people injured. Much of the violence in the lowland stems from a government habit of legally recognizing indigenous rights to land and then declaring it 'empty' and available for colonization.

Peru

Area and population
496,093 square miles – 18 million

Indigenous nations
The **Quichua** and **Aymara** peoples of the highlands of Peru constitute about 50% of the country's population, making around 9 million in all. These people live not only in the highlands but also in the large coastal towns, particularly the capital, Lima. The Peruvian Amazon contains about 60 nations with an indigenous population of around 100,000.

Country and government
Peru contains 25 *departments* operating under a democratic constitution which came into effect in 1980. Previously the government had shifted between military dictatorships and democracy. Peru's GNP per capita is about $1,000. Although agriculture and service industries comprise 80% of its production, its largest export is copper (44%). The USA receives 34% of Peru's exports and provides 38% of its imports.

Indigenous legislation
The radical military dictatorship of Velasco in 1968 implemented a wide-ranging Agrarian Reform (DL17716) for the highlands, based on the breaking down of the *hacienda* system, and established co-operatives. By limiting private holdings to 35 ha. the 'peasant community' became the basic politico-economic unit in the highlands with co-operatives organized either by their workers or by the community as a whole. The reform was not backed up with infrastructural support and non-cooperative members soon became a new rural poverty group. Changes in government, the breaking up of some co-operatives and the closing of the pro-Indian government-run SINAMOS (National System for Social Mobilization) destroyed most of the reform's benefits.

A parallel law for the Amazonian communities (DL20653) was passed in 1974 which began surveying, inscription and titling of native communities. The law also protected communities from large farming concerns. However, in 1978 the law was repealed by DL22175, allowing forestry and agribusiness up to 200,000 ha. of forest lands with extensions. In addition the law limits territorial ownership by excluding all forest land suitable for commercial exploitation (up to 90% of some indigenous areas). These are considered as being contracted out to the communities. There was a period in the 1970s when some communities received titles, but after the 1978 legislation the process slowed down and only very few have received recognition of their rights since then. There is no government agency for indigenous affairs and all titling is done through the Ministry of Agriculture. A Legislative Decree in 1980 only served to reinforce the effects of DL22175. In March 1987 the Peruvian Congress introduced a new Agrarian Law which threatened to expropriate all 'unused' community lands (*eriaza*) in the highlands and offer it to business and development interests. The clause was, however, withdrawn after a major protest by national peasant organizations and international support groups.

Indigenous affairs
The most serious case of human rights violations among the indigenous peoples of South America is taking place in the highland regions of Peru. Since 1980 a Maoist guerrilla group known as *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) has been waging war against the Peruvian Armed Forces. In all over 7000 Indians have been killed or have disappeared partly as a result of guerrilla attacks but mainly due to government atrocities. Since 1982 the provinces of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica have been declared emergency zones. Human rights organizations in Peru have documented cases of government forces breaking into communities and looting, mass arrests of up to 200 have been made and peasant organizations have been declared illegal. Indians suspected of sympathizing with *Sendero* have been tortured and imprisoned (in 1986 a mass killing of over 100 inmates took place at a Lima jail). For its part, *Sendero*'s economic and political ideology has destroyed traditional exchange patterns and indigenous leadership in the highland areas. Many Indians are turning to the *Israelitas* messianic movement as the only way out of a situation where communities are massacred, relocated and destroyed. There has been no noticeable improvement of the situation in the highlands under President Alan Garcia – indeed the fighting has spread to Puno, the Callejón de Huayllas and the central lowlands.[13]

The lowland Amazonian rainforests of Peru are currently the scene of massive economic development on several fronts. Agricultural companies working with sugar and palm oil have large concessions in the lowlands as have cattle ranchers and, above all, forestry businesses which control over 3 million ha. of the northern and central jungle.[14]

Colonization has been increasing, particularly in the north, where large numbers of people have invaded **Aguaruna** and **Huambisa** territory. The Pichis-Palcazu project, mentioned in the previous Section, has attracted many colonists into the central lowlands. Gold mining in the southern lowlands of the Madre de Dios has brought an unprecedented influx of colonists which has severely affected the indigenous **Harakmbut** peoples. On 15 March 1987 an Amerindian youth from the Madre de Dios was shot by colonists, following a similar incident in the northern area of Loreto. In the Alto Marañon, the Aguaruna currently face an influx of gold prospectors as the government has taken control of permit areas in their territory. In general the Garcia government is striving to ensure that his APRA party controls all of the administrative dealing with indigenous peoples and there is growing evidence that the party is moving to control community politics throughout the jungle region as much as possible.

Oil companies are still working in the Peruvian Amazon in the northern and southeastern jungle. A further threat to the people of the central forest is a possible hydroelectric project on the rivers Ene and Apurimac which would flood vast areas affecting the **Ashaninka** people. A recent threat of canal and road construction even put Peru's Manu National Park at risk; however, the pressure is lessened for the time being. As the economic frontiers penetrate further into the Peruvian Amazon, the government still refuses to recognize indigenous land rights unless expressly forced to by organizations such as the World Bank. Meanwhile the forest is being destroyed (4½ million ha. in the last decade) and pollution is increasing.

Bolivia

Area and population
424,160 square miles – 7 million people

Indigenous nations
The highland **Quichua** and **Aymara**-speaking peoples make up the majority of Bolivia's population consisting of 3 million and 1 million persons respectively. The lowland Indians are divided into around 30 nations (150,000 people in all). They range from the rainforests of the Beni to the eastern Chaco.

Country and government
Bolivia is divided into 9 departments under a central government which shifts frequently between dictatorship and democracy. The current democratic government of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement led the 1952 revolution (MNR is a populist party similar in some ways to APRA in Peru). Bolivia's GNP is the lowest in South America ($486). Agriculture and tin mining are the backbone of Bolivia's economy, although unofficially these have been surpassed by cocaine. Bolivia's largest trading partner is the USA.

Indigenous legislation
The 1952 revolution, which brought the MNR into power, initiated an Agrarian Reform in 1953 which completely changed the face of the highlands. Prior to the reform 6% of Bolivian landowners held 92% of the land, Indians had to provide free labour for rights to smallholdings and exploitation was rife. The Reform broke up the *haciendas* among the families working on the land and provided them with titles to land. Between 1955 and 1965 6 million ha. were distributed to 170,000 families. The major problem with the Reform was the insistence on individual title to land which has had the effect of breaking up many highland communities. Communities in the lowlands are now trying to ensure that they obtain communal titles under the reform.

Lowland peoples in Bolivia are covered by various decrees and legal recommendations which guarantee respect, lands and cultural freedom. However these are rarely put into practice. Some groups such as the **Chiriguanos** have certain titles to their land from before, and as a result of, the Agrarian reform.

There are three bodies in Bolivia which concern themselves with indigenous peoples in addition to their other duties. The Agrarian Reform, the Ministry of Peasant Affairs and the Peasant Unions. This alliance spearheaded the first 12 years of the reform. Since 1979, the union *Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia* (CSUTCB) has been independent of State control. Almost all indigenous peoples in the Bolivian highlands belong to the union while in the lowlands it is a growing movement. This is a reaction to strong missionary control, particularly the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has an official status in the Bolivian lowlands.

Indigenous affairs
The highland peoples of Bolivia have been the subject of attacks by the military several times over the last 15 years. At Tolata near Cochambamba, 1000 peasants were killed and 300 wounded in January 1974 during a demonstration against rising prices. In December 1979 at Huarina, near Lake Titicaca, 50 peasants were killed when demonstrating against a 25% devaluation of the Bolivian peso. At the same time more than 50 other peasants were killed in similar demonstrations in other parts of the country. During the bloody coup of 1980, when Garcia Meza forced himself into power, Indians were killed in the widespread violence. Indian leaders have frequently found themselves imprisoned without trial and tortured, particularly members of the new Indianist movement which has grown throughout the Andean region since the late 1970s.

According to a statement by an indigenous organization, in the highlands of Bolivia out of every 4 Indians, 3 are illiterate and out of every 5 Indians, 4 are sick.[35] Facilities and social welfare do not reach the peasant farmers who have in recent years been hit by drought. The effects of the Agrarian Reform have been felt keenly by members of dispersed communities who can no longer rely on the support of their relatives in times of scarcity and who have lost much of the traditional communal identity.

A recent report on the Bolivian lowlands says that, in the last 10 years, four indigenous nations have died out – the **Simonianos**, **Toromonas**, **Bororo** and **Jora**. Several other groups are under threat, particularly as a result of colonization.[36]

A major colonization area is the Beni which suffers from cattle ranching and projects directed by the National Colonization Institute (INC). The **Chimanes** of the area have lived with colonization for three centuries but they are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional economic system. Further over, on the Mamore river, the **Mojos** and **Movima** face similar threats.

The enormous development process in the eastern department of Santa Cruz has been going on for over 30 years, where US loans to Bolivia were invested in the colonization of the area for growing sugar. The local **Chiringuanos**, **Chiquitanos** and **Guaravos** provide most of the labour for the plantations under terrible conditions of gross exploitation.[37]

South of the Paraguayan border lies the Chaco area which is the home of the **Matakos** and **Ayoreode**. The former have to contend with mestizo merchants who regularly cheat them out of their produce. The Ayoreode are largely under the control of the New Tribes Mission which recently has been carrying out a programme of 'Indian hunts' there and over the border in Paraguay. In other parts of the lowlands the Catholic Church and the Summer Institute of Linguistics vie for control. SIL has been working officially with the Bolivian government and has several bi-lingual projects in the lowlands funded by USAID.

Chile

Area and population
292,135 square miles – 11.7 million people.

Indigenous nations
In the north of Chile live about 15,000 **Aymara** people. The largest group are the **Mapuche** who number about 1 million and live in the region from Santiago south to the beginning of the archipelago. Further south, in Tierra del Fuego, live the remaining sea and land nomads while in the Pacific Chile controls Easter Island's 1200 Polynesian inhabitants.

Country and government
Chile is divided into 13 regions under a central government. The Marxist coalition of Salvador Allende was ousted in 1973 by the armed forces headed by Pinochet ending many years of democratic rule in Chile and replacing them with an exceptionally repressive dictatorship. Chile's GNP is $1,437 and its major export is copper (45%). The USA and West Germany receive most of Chile's exports and 30% of its imports come from the USA.

Indigenous legislation
Most of Chile's indigenous legislation has been aimed at the majority Mapuche population. At the end of the 19th century the Mapuche were forced into reservations, situated near large farms, where they were made to work. By the 1930s 3000 separate reserves were made on 1.5% of Mapuche territory. Even though Chile had two phases of Agrarian Reform (1928 and 1962) the Mapuche did not receive any benefit and in some cases individual selling of communal land was encouraged. Under Allende, however, 70,000 hectares were restored to indigenous communities and communal holdings were confirmed in Law 17.729.

These positive steps were completely undermined by the Pinochet regime which, in 1979, introduced Decree Law 2568 calling 'for the division of the reserves and the liquidation of Indian communities'. According to this decree any individual who wishes to divide up a community can do so and in addition communal land can be mortgaged to outsiders with the possibility of eviction if the debtors cannot pay.

Although there is no government agency for indigenous affairs, the National Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP) which is part of the Ministry of Agriculture, has been responsible for dividing communal lands. In 1978 a group of Regional Mapuche Councils were formed by the government. These consist of Mapuches prepared to work with the government and arrange, among other things, credit facilities for development projects and sell confiscated debtors' lands.

Although these laws have primarily affected the Mapuche, the other Indians in Chile – particularly the Aymara communities – face similar consequences from the dividing up of communal lands.

Indigenous affairs
The Mapuche people possess only 1.5% of the lands they had at the time of the Spanish invasion. Since the passing of Decree 2568 in 1979, the number of Mapuche communities has fallen from 2066 to 655. Similar problems to these and those outlined below face the northern Aymara nation.[38]

As in so many parts of South America, the indigenous peoples of Chile are denied education in their own languages and their traditional religious practices are threatened. This is because of the constant police harassment of Mapuche communities where armed guards have disrupted *ñquillatun*, a traditional religious ceremony.

Mapuche leaders constantly face death threats and imprisonment. Paramilitary right-wing commando units have intimidated and murdered Mapuches while the government forces have attacked public meetings at least five times in 1984-5. During the same period more than 30 leaders were detained, exiled to different parts of Chile or deported.[39]

Since September 1986, there has been a severe escalation of the oppression of the Mapuche. Communities in Cautin have been placed under a state of siege with the inhabitants unable to come or go without government permission. It is nearly impossible to continue agricultural work and tensions are running high. At the same time several leaders of the Mapuche Indian organizations have been imprisoned without charge. Others have constantly to report their whereabouts to the police. A future threat for the Mapuche of Bio-Bio is a hydro-electric project, financed by the IDB which will flood a considerable area of community lands.

In Tierra del Fuego live the survivors of several nations. The last 50 of the **Yamana** who live at Ukika, just north of Cape Horn and the **Qawasqar** who live on the Isla de Wellington remain in a critical condition. With no motorboats, their fishing is undercut by colonists and they suffer from appalling medical conditions with a nurse visiting the community of Eden once or twice a year. These nations of Tierra del Fuego are now making their final stand for survival.[40]

Although not Amerindian, the **Polynesians** of Easter Island also feel the force of the Pinochet régime. All their lands have been taken over by the State and the 'boss' of the Island is a Santiago appointed governor who receives all his instructions from central government. The Pinochet regime continues to refuse to recognize the council which consists of the heads of all 35 indigenous families on Easter Island.[41]

Argentina

Area and population
1,084,120 square miles – 28 million people

Indigenous nations
There are 16 indigenous nations in Argentina consisting of nearly 350,000 people. The majority live in the north of the country bordering Bolivia and Paraguay. These range from the Quichua speaking **Kollas**, the **Tobas** and **Matacos** of the Chaco to the **Guaranies** of Misiones. Further south there are about 36,000 **Mapuche**, mainly in the province of Nequen and Tehueiches further south. There are also a few **Selk'namgon** in Tierra del Fuego.

Country and government
From the military coup in 1966 until the election of Raul Alfonsin in 1983, the regimes in Argentina were largely dictatorships or authoritarian in style. The country is a republic consisting of 22 provinces, a federal district and the southern National Territories. Argentina's GNP is $1,666 and its largest exports are corn and beef. Brazil receives most of its exports, followed by the USA.

Indigenous legislation
After the Argentinian military devastated the lands of the indigenous nations during the 19th century, several treaties were signed which have had little effect. Until 1983 the Indian had no legal status in Argentinian law. A department of Indian Affairs under the Social Welfare Ministry worked on indigenous issues until most of its offices were closed in the late 1970s. The main criticisms of Argentinian government policies have been that they try to break up community lands and that their development policies are paternalistic.

In 1984 a proposed law was discussed in the National Senate called 'Indigenous Policy and Support to the Aboriginal Communities'. This law (No.23.302) has in several respects been a step forward for the indigenous peoples of Argentina. Indian communities are now legally recognized, claims for restitution of stolen lands can be made and the right to bi-cultural education is included. A major problem is that its executive body (the National Department for Indigenous Affairs) will receive only a minority and advisory indigenous input in major decisions. It remains to be seen how the law operates in practice.

The Argentinian State has a current National Plan of Indigenist Policy which promotes indigenous community development, support for culture, lands and economic reactivation. In spite of its good intentions, like Law No. 23.302, the main drawback of the Plan is its paternalistic approach to indigenous peoples.

Indigenous affairs
In the northern province of Juyjuy the Kolla and **Chiriguano** peoples face constant pressures of acculturation and also the threat of an influx of colonists from El Salvador. A recent issue in the area has been the attempt by a Kolla family to have their child registered with a Quichua name. This was refused because Quichua was not considered a 'civilized' language.

Colonists are the major problem among the Chaco peoples – the Toba, Mataco and **Mocovi** nations – where about 1500 colonists from Spain are making investments in the purchase of lands.[42] As in neighbouring Bolivia, sugar plantations use up much indigenous labour. In addition cotton and timber work provides one of the few possibilities for Indians to raise living standards above subsistence levels. Conditions in the labour market are not good and the workers are constantly in debt.

The province of Misiones is the centre of the **Mbya Guarani** who number approximately 1300. The two reserves of the Mbya illustrate the dangers of not having land titles recognized. The Social Welfare Ministry owned the land on which the reserves were situated and could remove the inhabitants at will. Hopefully this situation will change now that Law 23.302 has been passed. Other problems facing the Mbya Guarani are intruders moving onto their lands, inadequate health and education facilities, and mission control.[43]

The Mapuche in Argentina have been divided from their relatives in Chile by an arbitrary national boundary. Both halves of this nation would like free access made available for crossing the Chile/Argentinian frontier. Although the Mapuche were driven out of their pampas homeland in the last century, they did not have reservations as in Chile. In spite of great pressures of acculturation, the Mapuche of Argentina are asserting their socio-cultural identity.

The eastern plains of Patagonia were once the homelands of the **Tehuelche** nation who were ruthlessly exterminated by Argentinian military expeditions of De La Rocca in 1875 and 1876. The last 100 survivors of these people live on a small reservation at Camushu Aike. On the Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego live the Selk'nam – cousins of the Tehuelche – of whom only 35 remain. These people, once mercilessly hunted by the landowners and sheep farmers of the area who paid one pound for each dead Indian, face extinction. The last of the **Onu** (an elderly woman) has been reported dead several times in the last few years. However, reports from both Chile and Argentina confirmed that she died in 1986.

Paraguay

Area and population
157,042 square miles – 3½ million people

Indigenous nations
There are 17 indigenous nations in Paraguay. To the west of the country there are **Guarani** peoples whose language is still spoken by 85% of the Paraguayan population, while to the east live the Chaco peoples such as the **Ayoreo, Mataco** and **Toba**. The total population is probably as high as 80,000 with the majority living in the Chaco. Most of these once nomadic peoples have now been forcibly settled.

Country and government
Since 1954 General Alfredo Stroessner has held dictatorial control of all major Paraguayan institutions in spite of a nominal parliament. The country has an eastern and western province divided into 14 and 5 departments respectively. Paraguay's GNP is $1,194 with cotton and oil seed as its main exports. Argentina and West Germany are Paraguay's largest trading partners.

Indigenous legislation
Many of the Indians in Paraguay gained citizenship from an 1848 decree. Land titling was handed over to some missions in 1907 in order to encourage them to settle the nomadic groups. Along with the 1963 Agrarian Statute, the Institute of Rural Welfare was charged with land distribution, and although the indigenous population gained some 'colonies' these were not recognized as communities.

The 1981 Law of Native Communities on the one hand legally recognizes indigenous communities and their rights to land, however it also allows Indians to be forcibly relocated and makes no provision to ensure the carrying out of the law. This has meant that in the majority of cases, even though the law has been invoked, no communities have been recognized and other important provisions (such as the removal of missions) have not been complied with. The same can be said of the labour law.

Indian affairs in Paraguay are controlled by the National Indigenous Institute (INDI) which is a department of the Ministry of Defence. In 1976 INDI was entrusted with overseeing all programmes which government, religious and private bodies have with the Indian population. This gives INDI a powerful position in indigenous affairs and has led to its being blamed for the inoperability of the 1981 Law of Native Communities. In November 1985 an Indigenist Affairs Department was created within the Ministry of Defence which will co-exist with INDI.

Indigenous affairs
The last 30 years have seen more indigenous lands stolen in Paraguay than at any time in its history. At present 75% of the Chaco Indians have no lands while 50% of the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern region have no titles. These landless Indians have to work on neighbouring farms or industries where they receive lower salaries than non-Indians and suffer extremely poor conditions. When profits drop the landowners, such as the firm *Carlos Casado* (which owns a quarter of the Paraguayan Chaco), will simply evict any indigenous people living on the area it wishes to sell. *Carlos Casada* has recently been in litigation against the Makoy-Chaco community whose land claims are being held by the firm.

The provision in the law for forced relocation has given the government the opportunity to evict whole communities from their settlements. A well-known example took place earlier, however, in 1980, when 700 **Toba-Maskoy** were forcibly evicted from their lands in the Chaco and carted in lorries to poorer areas. Evictions are becoming more commonplace and are going unpunished by the authorities. Among the **Mbya** (relatives of the Argentinian group mentioned earlier) the Mennonite community of Sommerfield remains under occupation by colonists and many communities in Paraguay are surrounded by landgrabbers eagerly waiting for an opportunity to move in. While all this is happening, lands continue to be sold to foreign investors who have their own plans for colonization.

A notorious feature of Paraguayan indigenous history has been the 'man-hunts'. In the 1970s the **Aché** nation suffered greatly from attempts to track them down in the forest and force them to settle down from their nomadic traditional life-style into reserves. The result was the devastation of their population.[44] The Aché were not the only group, and to this day, man-hunts continue in the other part of Paraguay – the western Chaco bordering on Bolivia – where the New Tribes Mission have been accused of carrying out 'man-hunts' on the Ayoreo people.

Another threat for the Indians, particularly in the east, is deforestation. One of the worst areas affected is the **Ava-Chiripa** community of Bajada Guazu which has lost 3000 ha. INDI is doing nothing to prevent this and has even been negotiating terms with the timber company. 3000 ha. of land of the Mbya Guarani is being handed over by INDI. In addition there is vast deforestation being carried out by the World Bank funded Caazapa Rural Development Project mentioned earlier in this Report.

A recent account from a visit to Paraguay tells of the terrible conditions in which the Maskoy of Casado live (the same ones relocated in 1980). Sickness, disease and poverty face these people who live in overcrowded squalid conditions. The common demand from all Paraguayan indigenous groups is simple: 'we want our land'.[45]

Brazil

Area and population
3,286,000 square miles – 130 million people

Indigenous nations
There are 225 indigenous nations in Brazil, making a total of over 225,000 people. Ranging from rainforest, savannah and highland to coastal areas, these Indian peoples provide a vast spectrum of societies and cultures. The majority of Brazilian Indians live in the Amazon and central regions of the country in small communities, reserved lands or in one of the four national parks such as the Xingu which contains 14 groups. The indigenous peoples of Brazil vary from isolated peoples like the **Yanomami** or **Cinta Larga** of the rainforest to the more regularly contacted groups such as the central Xavante, the eastern Pataxo and the southern Kaingang.

Country and government
Brazil is a federal republic with 23 States and 3 federal territories. Since 1984 the president has been elected democratically ending 20 years of repressive military rule. Brazil's GNP is $1,542, its major exports are coffee and iron ore. The USA is Brazil's largest trading partner.

Indigenous legislation
After Brazil's independence in 1822, a series of laws were introduced in the following decades freeing the Indians from slavery and placing them, first, under the tutelage of the central government (1831), and then the respective States (1889). In 1910 Decree 8.072 set up the Indian Protection Service (SPI) who, representing the Federal government, would protect Indians, respect their cultures and guarantee their lands. In 1916, the Brazilian Civil Code declared 'forest dwellers' to be 'relatively incapable' and granted them the same rights and protections as minors between 16 and 21 years of age.

The 1967 Law 5.371 set up the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) which replaced the, by then, corrupt SPI. Two years later the new Federal Constitution recognized Indian usufruct rights to the land; however these would be owned by the State. In the Indian Statute of 1973 this was reaffirmed and FUNAI was given the task of preparing the legalization of land titles by investigation, delimitation and demarcation after which lands would be granted by Presidential Decree. The Indian Statute also granted the State rights of sub-surface resources on Indian lands. Two other harmful aspects of the Indian Statute are provisions to forcibly relocate Indians from their lands and to hand over to FUNAI the right to control indigenous resources and even lease land to third parties.

Since 1983 there have been two Presidential Decrees which have had adverse effects on the Brazilian Indians. Decree No. 88.188 (February 1983) changed the procedure for demarcating Indian lands. All proposals must now be submitted to an Inter-Ministerial Group consisting of interested parties who take into consideration the non-Indian invaders on indigenous lands. The second decree (No. 88.985, November 1983) opened all indigenous areas for mining, enabling the State to grant mining concessions even on demarcated lands. A development at FUNAI in 1986 (which has had 8 changes of Presidency in two years) has decentralized its structure, thereby putting the demarcation of indigenous lands and Indian protection into the hands of interested lobby groups in each of five regional bodies.

Two proposed projects (which are currently dormant but which could reappear at any time) also pose a threat to the future of the Brazilian Indians. The first is the New Civil Code which plans to make Indians 'absolutely incapable' before the law so that instead of assisting them (as happens to 'relatively incapable' persons) the State will represent and control them. At the same time proposed law No. 2465/83 plans to 'emancipate' the Indians, thereby removing their special status and claims to land. In one stroke the indigenous peoples of Brazil would find themselves stripped of their rights as Indians and as citizens.[46]

Indigenous affairs

Of the 316 indigenous areas recognized by FUNAI, 68% are not demarcated which means that they are exposed to possible invasions. In 1983 a survey of Brazil showed that 50 conflicts had taken place affecting 45 Indian nations. The main causes were invading colonists, cattle ranching, mining, hydro-electric projects and highway construction. In addition, over the last 10 years, 14 Indian leaders have been murdered.

Since Brazil's economic 'miracle' began in 1968, an enormous attempt at economic expansion has led to repeated violations of indigenous rights. In 1970 the government announced its Programme of National Integration (PIN) for colonizing Amazonia by constructing two highways (Trans-amazonica and Cuiabá/Santarem). The intention to move 500,000 families from the overpopulated northeast failed (only 10,000 moved) but the effect on the Indian inhabitants of the areas concerned was devastating. FUNAI worked to attract these Indians into settlements to make way for the roads. The **Arara, Parkana, Kreen Akarore** and the **Txukahamãe** were just a few of the nations who suffered severely from the diseases and relocations of the roads. Other cases followed: the Northern Perimeter highway (BR-210) harmed the Yanonami, the Manaus-Caracarai (BR-17) affected the **Waimiri-Atroari** and the Cuiba-Porto Velho highway (BR-364 – see Polonoroeste project in an earlier Section) has seriously affected the **Nambikwara**. Now the plan is to link up the northern and southern Amazon by constructing a road through Acre and around the borders with Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. This will not only threaten the Amazonian groups but bring them under border security control.[47]

In 1981 there were 7 hydro-electric projects threatening about 35 Indian areas with flooding and the relocation of their inhabitants. These projects are still being propped up by international loans. The Parakana, who were relocated by the Transamazon highway, lost a quarter of their people through disease, now face a second relocation from the Tucurui dam. The Waimiri-Atroari, who lost over 1000 of their 3000 population as a result of BR-174, stand threatened by the Balbina dam in Amazonas State. They had already lost a third of their reserved lands by a 1981 decree. To the south the **Xokleng, Kaingang** and **Guarani** are affected by the Itaji project, the enormous Iguaçu and the Uruguay river basin projects. Other groups hard-hit by dams are the **Asurini, Surui, Gavioe** and **Parakanan**.[48]

Mining is a serious threat to many indigenous peoples of Brazil, particularly in the Amazon where the Yanomami and the **Tukarno** have recently suffered violent clashes with *garimpeiros*, small scale miners who are encouraged to enter Indian areas. In Yanomami territory, over the last year, there have been invasions in the areas of Apiaú and Ericó and an estimated 1000 prospectors are illegally occupying Indian land. Further south, the Tukano, **Baniwa** and **Maku** Indians have had several confrontations with gold prospectors throughout 1985. Twelve companies are seeking permits to work in the area, but some, with their own paramilitary forces, have already entered indigenous territories and in clashes during January 1986 several Tukano were killed. A 1986 publication has summarized the mining situation in Brazil as follows: 537 mining claims have been conceded for research in indigenous areas; 1732 mining claims are in process for research in indigenous areas. Together these affect 77 out of 302 indigenous areas (or 34%) of the total areas inhabited by indigenous peoples. (10% of the claims are on the lands of uncontacted Indians.)[49]

Throughout Brazil colonization continues in all areas. The **Pataxo Hã-Hã-Hãe** in eastern Brazil have communities surrounded by 3000 armed colonists who are besieging the Indians in order to take over their lands. During the siege several Pataxo have been wounded. In the south, the Kaingang of Toldo Chimbague have also been faced with armed colonists. Their lands were eventually demarcated in 1985 but they were granted only half of their claim.[50] A future colonization project which is causing concern is the Calha Norte. If it goes ahead the whole border area of the Amazon will be opened up for colonization with roads and settlements. This will be the Brazilian government's final solution for the most populated Indian area in the country.

Guyana

Area and population

83,000 square miles – 7-900,000 people

Indigenous nations

The Coastal Amerindians in Guyana are mainly acculturated but in the interior are the Arawak-speaking **Wapisiana** and Carib-speaking **Akawaio, Patamona, Arekuna Makusi** and **Waiwai**. Because of Dutch (1620-1796) and British (1796-1966) policies no 'Bush Negro' societies developed in Guyana. There are about 45,000 Indians.

Country and government

Guyana is a US-backed 'authoritarian democracy'. With $697 GNP, its exports are bauxite and aluminium. The UK is its largest trading partner.

Indigenous legislation

The 19th century saw Guyanan Indians under missionary control although in 1910 several Amerindian territories gained reservation status with the ownership remaining in Crown hands. After the 1965 Independence Conference there was a recommendation to title all Indian lands. With several exceptions, the 1978 Amerindian (Amendment) Act allowed for individual, community and sub-district titling. However, titling is organized by the government and indigenous initiatives on land and education are not provided for legally. The Hinterland Department of the Ministry of Regional Development deals with Indian affairs.

Indigenous affairs

The major external problem of Guyana is the Venezuelan claim to its western half. This has led the government to organize a development programme in the area including mining indigenous areas in the North West District and dam construction on the Upper Mazaruni (where there are no Indian titles to land). Multinational mining companies are posing another threat to Indians in the interior of the country and many have sought refuge in Venezuela to avoid exploitation.[51]

Surinam

Area and population

168,820 square miles – 400,000 people

Indigenous nations

Amerindians of Surinam are divided into coastal and interior Indians. The former groups are **Arawak** and **Carib** while the latter are the **Trio, Wayana** and **Akuriyo**.[52] The central part of Surinam contains communities of 'Bush Negroes' who are descendants of runaway slaves in the 18th century. There are about 8000 Amerindians.

Country and government

Since 1980 Surinam has been under military rule and in a state of emergency. Its GNP is $2,850 and its main products for export are minerals. The USA and the Netherlands are Surinam's main trading partners. Independence was recognized in 1975.

Indigenous legislation

The Amerindians of Surinam have never had any special legal status or government agency to deal with. There are no reservations, although missionaries have brought together groups, such as the Trio, into communities. Some villages have titles to land but all ownership rights belong to the State.

Indigenous affairs

In 1986 the situation in the interior of Surinam deteriorated. A protracted guerrilla war in which the indigenous peoples of the country have remained neutral has finally entered into their lives. Reports indicate that Indians are being forced from their villages by the government and guerrillas and that many are seeking refuge in neighbouring French Guiana which cannot handle the influx. The groups most affected are the Arawak, the Wayana, and the Carib.[53]

French Guiana

Area and population

32,252 square miles – 73,000 people

Indigenous nations

There are 4500 indigenous peoples in French Guiana. On the coast live **Arawak, Galibi** and **Palikur** while inland live the **Emerillon, Oyampi** and **Wayana**. Bush negroes also live in the interior.

Country and government

French Guiana is still a colony of France and is therefore administered by an appointed Commissioner. France controls the country's economy.

Indigenous legislation

Until 1968 the indigenous peoples of French Guiana were governed under the Inini Statute. According to this arrangement a Prefect and the gendarmerie kept a presence south of the coastal area, but the indigenous nations could live as they liked. After Inini's abolition in 1969 all the peoples of the interior were abruptly brought under French socio-cultural

control. This 'Francization' changes inheritance, insists on education in French, and forces the adoption of French Civil Law. Traditional land rights are not recognized.

Indigenous affairs

The ethnocidal effects of the 'Francization' law has severely threatened the indigenous peoples of French Guiana and the refusal to recognize land rights has exposed indigenous areas to invasion resulting in the Indians working as wage-labour. Another recent threat has been the enormous influx of Brazilian gold prospectors across the border into Indian lands. A future plan, which is causing great concern, is a project to bring 30,000 French settlers over to develop the country's mineral and timber resources. Not only will this seriously affect the Indian population but it will provide French Guiana with a dangerous parallel to the enormous settlement of *Caldoches* in New Caledonia.[54]

AMERINDIAN RESISTANCE

In March 1984, Txukarramae Indians from the Xingu river in Brazil held the director of the Xingu park and 5 other FUNAI employees hostage. They were demanding the demarcation of their lands which had been cut off from the main body of the park in 1971 by highway BR-80. At that time some of the Txukarramae decided to move into the park on the other side of the highway, thereby avoiding its dangers. However other Txukarramae, led by their redoubtable chief, Robli (Raoni), fought for their rights and in the ensuing years killed more than 13 farm workers from invading agricultural companies. When FUNAI consistently refused to honour promises for demarcation, the Txukarramae blocked BR-80 and took hostages. Eventually, after negotiations supported by Indian figures such as Mário Juruna, the Txukarramae received their land demarcation.[55]

This case illustrates the powers of Indian resistance and the three main forms it can take. One indigenous strategy is to avoid conflict by moving to another area. Many of the migrations in South America stem from seeking another environment which is more hospitable. A second approach is to use the weapons of the invaders against them – whether forming an organization or else, as Juruna, entering Parliament. The third, and historically more frequent, solution is to resist with force. Since the invasion, millions of Amerindians have lost their lives in a struggle against oppression which has enabled their descendents to survive, and we should not perpetuate the false impression that the protagonists of Indian resistance have sat aside passively and awaited their fate.

Indigenous resistance begins in the communities because without territorial rights all other socio-cultural attributes of Indian peoples become 'colonized' – that is, fall into the control of outside forces. Since the European invasion, indigenous communities throughout the continent have co-operated under powerful leaders and resisted the occupation of their territories.

In Amerindian societies politics and religion are intimately connected, with the shaman and politician overlapping in their responsibilities. Religious movements have frequently arisen throughout South America sharing the three reactions to oppression mentioned above. In the Andean regions, for example, from the Taqui Onquoy movement in the 16th century up to the *Israelitas* of today there is a striving among the indigenous highlanders for a 'messianic' means of avoiding the incomprehensible devastation of their traditional life. In the lowlands the *Loma Santa* movement (Holy Hill), like the 'Land without Evil' of the Guarani has provided the Bolivian Mojos with a future world apart from the evils of oppression.[56] The syncretic aspects of these movements are also important because they show that, in order to deal with the presence of non-Indians in the world, the indigenous cult can make use of Christian imagery and thereby increase its power. Amerindian religious movements have used force also, such as when the messianic leader, Juan Santos Atahualpa, repulsed the Spanish army from the central Peruvian lowlands in 1742. This year, reports have been coming in of *Israelitas* attacking lowland Peruvian communities in their proselytizing fervour.

In spite of the strength and vigour of religion as a means of coping with oppression, the most common form of resistance in South America has been the indigenous political organization. Currently these provide a formidable means of championing indigenous rights and self-determination. Every country in South America has several different organizations which vary in their structures and strategies. Amerindian organization has a long history; there have been leaders, movements and organizations since the 16th century. Currently, however, indigenous organizations have taken on certain forms and characteristics which have enabled them, for the first time, to transcend national and State boundaries and challenge countries on their own terms.

In 1964, the Shuar nation of Ecuador formed a federation based on regional associations of Shuar communities. The invasions of colonists had, by 1959, left them outnumbered in their own territories and they realized that without a land base they could not exercise their right to self-determination. The Shuar have successfully repelled attempts by the Spanish and Ecuadorian State to take over their lands since the 16th century, and the Shuar Federation is the continuation of this resistance.[57] Although the federation is not the first indigenous organization in South America, it has in many ways spearheaded the recent flowering of these movements. Today the Shuar Federation has 13 regional associations, 160 local centres, educational facilities, radio communications and air transport. With community titles negotiated from IERAC they have made a livelihood by raising cattle, despite diffculties. Over the last 20 years the Shuar Federation has suffered from problems which have faced other South American indigenous organizations. In 1969 its central office was burnt down by colonists and in the 1970s its leaders were jailed and tortured. Currently the Ecuadorian government is pursuing a policy of funding rival organizations to create splits within the indigenous movement and particularly the Shuar.

In 1971, the highlands of Colombia saw the foundation of the Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca. Formed by 2000 Indians from 10 communities, CRIC immediately began a successful policy of recuperating stolen reservation lands. Where the government will not recognize the Indian rights, CRIC has organized non-violent occupation of lands and has recovered several thousand hectares. Recently CRIC has faced persecution both from the government and the Moscow-linked guerrilla organization FARC.[58] CRIC is the latest in the long tradition of indigenous organizations in Colombia, particularly in this century. Two important Indian leaders in Colombia after 1910 were Quintin Lame and Gonzalo Sanchez. Lame was a catalyst in the Indian struggle for land and organization formulating an indigenous philosophy of resistance. Sanchez was an organizer, and through his work the Supreme Council of Indians was created in Natagaima in 1920.

Throughout the 1970s, indigenous organizations began to form throughout South America. By 1971 there were several indigenous Aymaran organizations in Bolivia such as *Mink'a* and the *Movimiento Tupac Katari*. In 1973 four organizations produced the Manifesto of Tiwanaku demanding Indian politico-cultural liberation. This statement is one of the first 'Indianist' documents, disassociating itself from both the left and right and emphasizing Indian liberation.[59]

The first South American Indian Parliament meeting took place in 1974 in Asuncion, Paraguay, bringing together organizations from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela. The major demands which arose from this meeting were rights to land, education and free organization. The following year an Indian Council representing most of Paraguay's indigenous population met. 1977 saw the founding of the Peruvian Indian Movement (MIP) which was eventually replaced in 1980 by the Indian Movement *Tupac Amaru* (MITA). Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari were Peruvian and Bolivian leaders of Indian uprisings in the 18th century and have been a source of inspiration to the leaders of modern Indianist organizations in these two countries. The Indianist movement has received most support from countries with the largest indigenous population (mainly the Andean regions).

In 1980 the Indian Council of South America (CISA) was formed in Ollantaytambo, Cusco, Peru. Although containing primarily highland Indians, the founding conference had participants from all over South America. Since 1980, CISA has been working to bring together indigenous organizations in the continent to co-ordinate political work and development policies.

Five years after the foundation of the Shuar Federation in 1964, the Yanesha nation of lowland Peru formed the Congress of Amuesha Communities. Over the next decade similar bodies sprang up among three other large Peruvian lowland nations – Ashaninka (Campa), Shipibo and Aguaruna-Huambisa. In 1979 these organizations formed a federation among themselves called the

Co-ordinating Committee of Native Communities of the Peruvian Forest (COCCONASEP) which in 1980 became the Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Forest (AIDESEP). Since then AIDESEP has increased its member organizations to 13.[60]

Meanwhile, parallel developments have been taking place with the establishment of the National Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE), comprising four organizations and the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) which contains both highland and lowland organizations among its members. Recently, two important indigenous organizations have developed: in Bolivia (the Central Organization of Indigenous Peoples and Communities of Eastern Bolivia – CIDOB) and, in Brazil, the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI).

In 1984 at a meeting in Peru, the *Co-ordinadora* of the Amazon Basin was born, containing the organizations of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia (now withdrawn), Ecuador and Peru. This international organization brings together indigenous peoples facing common threats in the Amazon region – particularly those initiatives formulated by the co-ordinating body of Amazon governments. At several international meetings (especially the UN) the constitutive members of the *Co-ordinadora* have made their representations together.[61]

The Mapuche in Chile currently have several organizations working for their rights and against the oppression of the Pinochet government. Similarly in Argentina, Paraguay and Venezuela indigenous movements have appeared over the last few years developing national representation and international co-ordination.

There are three fundamental issues facing any indigenous groups forming an organization which are particularly apparent in South America. The first is the structure of the organization, the second is the nature of the leadership, and the third is its strategies for achieving its goals. The particular configuration of the organization and its ideology are all aspects of how these issues are treated.

Structure of the organization

Indigenous organizations vary in structure according to two criteria – their form of representation and the extent of their centralization or decentralization.

Levels of organization:

1. Community
The fundamental basis of indigenous organization is the community. Whether this is a concentrated group of houses, a dispersed settlement or a hunting and gathering band, the community and its territorial base provide the political support and bases for representation. Communities in South America depend both on traditional forms of organization and also more recently devised 'official' bodies necessary for State recognition. Although in practice most communities operate independently, they usually retain affiliation to larger federations of communities – the strength of the tie being related to the particular problems which the community faces.

2. Regional organizations
Federations of communities on a regional basis work for indigenous peoples in a particular area. Although some of these (such as the Shuar Federation) follow ethnic lines, others cross-cut indigenous national boundaries (in Peru, the Native Federation of the Madre de Dios, for example, contains several indigenous nations while the Ashaninka have two local organizations to represent them).

3. Inter-regional organizations
Organizations such as AIDESEP, CIDOB and CONFENIAE, mentioned above, are federations of regional organizations in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. The highlands of Peru have had MIPA, MITA and now a new organization AYNI to bring together smaller bodies into a larger entity. However, the highland organizations are not constructed on such a strict federal structure as the lowland organizations.

4. National organizations
Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Paraguay (and in the future possibly Venezuela) have national indigenous bodies which bring together organizations from all parts of the country. A great problem has been the distinction between the highlands and lowlands. Colombia has overcome this by means of one organization, ONIC. Ecuador, on the other hand, has one lowland organization (CONFENIAE) and a highland indigenous organization (CONACNIE), both of which are affiliated to the national union body ECUARUNARI comprising both indigenous and non-indigenous peasants.

5. International organizations
The *Co-ordinadora* of the Amazon consists of Amazon Indian inter-regional organizations. CISA, on the other hand, includes some of these as well as regional and national organizations. CISA is one of the five sections of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (founded in 1975 with a base in Ottawa, Canada). CISA is the only South American indigenous organization to have consultative status at the United Nations.

Indigenous organizations in South America do not fit together neatly in a hierarchy of levels. Some are affiliated to one level, some to others. Forms of representation differ between the organizations, although this need not necessarily be a defect in their efficacy. However, it is important when understanding indigenous organizations to appreciate what they represent – whether community, regional, national or international levels.

Centralization versus decentralization

Apart from the vertical structures of indigenous organizations there are horizontal factors such as the extent to which an organization can, or should, be centralized. Most organizations in South America run on the basis of a central office, usually in a capital or large city staffed by indigenous administrators who either already live there or who are brought temporarily to the centre.

UNI in Brazil is a more decentralized organization. Made up of regional councils with direct access to community leaders, no central decision-making body can control or over-ride the wishes of the communities. Although such a structure is the most difficult to organize, UNI has managed to develop against many odds. Most organizations try to strike a balance between centralization and decentralization because an excess of either can lead to a weakening of contact between the administration and its members. This can result in either unrepresentative decisions or a laborious decision-making process.

The nature of indigenous leadership

There are three factors to be considered: the urban/rural divide, traditional and boundary leaders, and spheres of leadership outside the indigenous organizations.

Urban versus rural

Although the fight for indigenous land rights stems from a community base, not all indigenous peoples are rural. In Lima, hundreds of thousands of migrants have settled far from their highland homes in the *pueblos jovenes*. There they keep contact with their communities of origin and try to form a small land base, striving to survive dreadful poverty without losing their cultural identity. Out of their experiences in the city, many indigenous peoples have gained abilities which are essential in their struggle for rights. Some have a higher education and others have worked with organized labour, thereby dealing with the non-indigenous world to a considerable degree. All indigenous organizations have some members, if not leaders, who live, or spend most of their time, in the city and it is usually the inter-relationship between the strengths of the urban and rural sectors of indigenous society that provide the impetus for its self-development.

Boundary and community leadership

In traditional community life, leadership frequently takes two forms. Community leaders are recognized as persons with particular qualities such as the ability to take decisions, being an orator, good hunter or curer and someone who is prepared to accept responsibility for actions. Such a leader may not be 'elected' but directly represents or manifests the needs and desires of a group within the community or the community itself. The other basis for leadership is a person who knows both the community and the

outside world and can act as a go-between, connecting indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The basis for this leadership is indirect representation. The contrast between direct and indirect or community and boundary leadership is a matter of degree, but it accounts for a contrast in leaders and forms of organizations in the indigenous movement. The broader the level of representation of an organization, the more likelihood that its leaders and administrative workers will not be spending most of their time in communities but will be dealing with politics from the town, and therefore acting as boundary leaders.

Organizations based in the city with boundary or indirect leadership are sometimes accused of not being representative. This is not necessarily so. To be representative is not merely a question of democratic accountability as found in some non-indigenous societies, but is also an understanding of the needs, desires and aspirations of indigenous peoples, and presenting these in a form which is comprehensible to non-indigenous peoples. Because of the nature of South American Amerindian societies, any leadership or organization which becomes too authoritarian, autocratic and distant will rapidly lose support from those it seeks to represent.

Leadership outside organizations – Parliament and Party

In 1983 Mário Juruna became an indigenous celebrity when he was elected the first Indian member of the Brazilian Congress. His strident personality and forthright statements have made him controversial among indigenous and non-indigenous alike; however, his strength is that, for the first time, the Brazilian people are listening to an Indian leader and he is making sure they can hear. In November 1986 Brazilian elections took place again and Juruna lost his seat. In a disappointing result, the nine other Indian candidates for different parties (mainly those of the left) failed to enter Congress.

Although Brazil has the largest mobilization of Indian leaders attempting to win parliamentary seats, the shift to democracy throughout South America has increased the numbers of candidates. Argentina and Peru have had several indigenous candidates in recent parliamentary elections. Bolivia was the first country to bring two indigenous leaders to the Parliament in 1980 when Julio Tumiri and Constantino Lima from the organization called MITKA succeeded in gaining seats with their parties taking 2.5% of the total vote. Indianist parties have been a phenomenon of Peru and Bolivia in recent years (currently there are 11 Indianist parties in Bolivia). In the Bolivian elections of 1986 the Revolutionary Movement of National Liberation Tupac Katari gained two seats with an overall Indianist increased vote share to nearly 2.8%.

Indian leaders as individuals, such as Juruna, and as members of Indian organizations, such as in Bolivia, are increasing in numbers with the return of electoral systems in South America and will probably remain a feature of indigenous politics for the immediate future.

Strategies of resistance

Indigenous resistance in South America is primarily non-violent. Violence takes place from time to time when communities are under direct attack and fight to defend themselves. In Colombia the Indian guerrilla movement *Quintin Lame* acts as a defence force to protect *resguardos* under attack by the government and FARC. Non-violent strategies for indigenous organizations take several forms. Some, following the strict Indianist line, will not collaborate with non-indigenous organizations – even forming their own political parties when standing for Parliament. Others will either decide to work with the State apparatus to secure better conditions or else join with opposition parties, unions or liberation movements to make their demands heard more clearly.

These choices lie at the heart of strategies facing indigenous resistance in South America today. Some organizations believe that Indian identity must fight, untouched by the non-indigenous world, while others consider that indigenous peoples can never gain their rights unless they are prepared to ally themselves with other oppressed sectors of the national society.

Indianism

The Indianist strategy is a struggle for liberation stemming from Indians, by Indians and for Indians. According to one of its main exponents,[62] Indian politics appeared at the first moment of colonization and will continue until Indian peoples achieve total liberation. In the last ten years, Indianist philosophy has developed into at least three different lines of thought. The earliest line saw the communal values of highland Indian life as compatible with left-wing politics and therefore allied itself to the left (1977-1980). The second line disassociated itself from both right and leftist policies and set up an independent Indianist line based on the creation of Indianist parties such as the *Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari Apaza* in Bolivia. The Indianists of Peru and Bolivia have made considerable use in their philosophy of *Tawantinsuyu* (the socio-cosmological structure on which the Inca State was based). This trend was dominant between 1980 and 1983 and still continues in both countries.

The third line of Indianism is that currently existing in CISA. According to the Co-ordinator of the organization,[63] CISA does not reflect just the *Tawantinsuyu* manifestation of Indianism, but sees the movement as being culturally relative. Indian identity emerges as consciousness from within a nation of people. According to this line, therefore, Indianism differs according to culture and has fixed alignment to the non-Indian political spectrum. The first line sees alliance with the left as acceptable, the second allies with no one, while the third, the centralist position, will use whatever means possible to promote the demands of Indian peoples, within a more flexible model.

Syndicalism

Whereas indigenous peoples in South America have co-operated with political parties occasionally, a far stronger inter-relationship has emerged over the years with the peasant unions, particularly in the Andean countries of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile where most of the rural population are organized syndically.

The rural union movements of the Andes developed in the 1950s along with a political mobilization of the people, both indigenous and *mestizo*. Although non-indigenous members of rural unions frequently have louder voices in the organization, indigenous peoples have established a broad participation through local syndicates which incorporate traditional highland community structures into the union. Unfortunately this is rarely reflected in the higher echelons of union structure where indigenous issues are subsumed within the class struggle and *mestizos* are largely in control.

Relations between indigenous organizations and unions vary according to ideology and historical conditions. In Colombia, for example, CRIC had close ties to the National Peasant Association (ANUC) during the 1970s; however, this connection broke up because the dominant faction of ANUC saw the Indian struggle as subordinate to the peasant movement.

In Peru the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP) grew up during the 1950s out of a movement by community peasants to regain their stolen lands. During the military regime of Velasco the government set up the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA). Both these unions have strong indigenous links in the highlands and have at several periods attended informal talks with indigenous organizations in Peru. However, as in Colombia, the sectors of the union closest to political parties dismiss the idea that indigenous peasants have certain political rights over and above their membership of the workforce.[64]

Bolivian unions have had a close relationship with indigenous peoples since their formation in the 1950s. During MNR's first 12 years in power (1952-1964) the Bolivian peasant unions were controlled by the party in power. Under the subsequent military governments, the Military-Peasant pact kept leaders of the National Federation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CNTCB) under State control. In 1979 an independent union – the *Sole Sindicalist* – Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers (CSUTCB) joined the Centre of Bolivian Workers (COB) as the only peasant union with free representation in Bolivia. One of the reasons for the splits in the Indianist MITKA movement is the extent to which its members are prepared to co-operate with the CSUTCB/COB.

The relationship between unions and indigenous organizations in Ecuador is more formalized in that both CONFENIAE and CONACNIE are affiliated to the peasant union ECUARUNARI (one of the three such unions in Ecuador). In Chile, one of the two

main indigenous Mapuche organizations AD-MAPU is officially entitled 'the Union Association of Small Agriculturalists and Artisans, AD-MAPU'.

Indigenous organizations have, on the whole, a closer relationship with peasant unions than with any other popular sector. The main issue which arises in indigenous/union relations is to what extent the class and indigenous struggle are compatible. Ethnic identity and class are independent variables which can, but need not, work in conflict. Where the two are complementary or parallel, a means for combatting social injustice appears, but where there is tyranny of one over the other, nothing will be resolved and the exploiters will continue to hold sway.[65]

The women's movement

Indigenous women from South America have begun to put forward their perspectives on their struggle in recent years. In the highlands of Peru and Bolivia several women's organizations have been established and in Chile and Ecuador indigenous organizations have women leaders. Indigenous women's writings cover two different perspectives – the position of women in traditional society and the extent to which their rights and freedoms are denied, and the effect of colonization and how the exploitative relations in non-indigenous society have been imposed upon indigenous women. Little has been written on women in traditional society from their own viewpoint. This is because men dominate the channels of communication with the outside and it is extremely difficult to know how women really see their roles. A view which is sometimes expressed is that, broadly speaking, indigenous women have more equality with men in traditional society than in the industrialized world, despite some constrictions on their freedom as individuals.

The main emphasis is to define the relationship between colonization and the exploitation of women. A publication by the Organization Aymaran Women of Kollasuyu (Bolivia) (OMAK) explains how traditionally men and women made decisions together, had the same rights and together formed the community. The imposition of inequality between men and women by colonization has provided the incorrect analysis that liberation is a male struggle. In order to bring the 'community' together again, women must fight for their own complementary liberation.[66]

The problems facing women in La Paz are similar to indigenous women throughout South America. In the markets, women street vendors try to sell their wares to scrape a living while suffering discrimination and insults from those who claim to be their superiors. Women, including Indian women, form the servant population in all parts of the continent. They frequently receive little or no salary and have to work long hours. Other women are forced through poverty into work as seamstresses for very low wages and live in miserable conditions.

There are other Aymara women's organizations. The Woman's Promotion Centre *Gregoria Apaza* is working with migrant Aymara women and uses radio discussions to reach the maximum indigenous women's audience. They hope to raise Aymara's women's awareness of their position in society and increase their participation in the liberation struggle. In Lima the 'Women's Community of Micaela Bastidas' is a clear example of the matching of theory and practice. Based on Indianist and Feminist principles, the Community has taken over a block in the city centre for four major programmes – a publishing house producing information on women's issues, a centre where women can meet, an employment office where Indian women can register for work in the city with guaranteed conditions, and a restaurant which provides cheap and good food for the poor people of the area.

One of the main points which these women make about their relationships to men is that they want liberation and not dominance. They want to return to the traditional notion of complementarity in a world where they receive the respect due to them as indigenous women.

National and international solidarity

Since the late 1960s there has been a proliferation of non-indigenous groups throughout the world. In several South American countries there are groups working to support the indigenous struggle. Generally these organizations consist of either members of the Church who work in line with liberation theology or concerned professional anthropologists who use their training to support the rights of indigenous peoples.

Church organizations have spoken out in favour of the rights of indigenous peoples in recent years, thereby continuing a tradition which stretches back to Bartolomé de las Casas who criticized the Spanish for their abuses of Indian rights. In Ecuador, Colombia, Chile and Venezuela the Catholic Church has supported the struggle for indigenous rights and in both Peru and Brazil church organizations publish and lobby on behalf of the Indians.

Professional anthropologists have also played a role in supporting indigenous rights in South America, although they are still a minority within their profession. The *Marandu* project, started in 1972, was designed to promote the self-determination of the indigenous peoples of Paraguay. It was primarily an information project (*marandu* means 'information' in Guarani). Despite its closure in 1975 and the arrest of its leaders, the project continued and has left a legacy in the indigenous organizations in Paraguay. In Peru, Brazil and Venezuela, groups of anthropologists adhering (as did the *Marandu* organizers) to the principles of the Declaration of Barbados, have formed organizations in support of indigenous peoples' rights.[67] In the field, too, there are individuals and groups who are dedicating their lives to the indigenous struggle. A well-known example is the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami National Park (CCPY) in Brazil. This organization is currently working an extremely effective health programme among the Yanomami of Roraima while campaigning for the creation of a national park.[68]

South American Indian rights had its first international support organization in 1968 when the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) was founded after reports of gross violations of human rights were disclosed at the Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart. Since then IWGIA has been publishing regularly on South American issues, campaigning and supporting small-scale organizational and self-development projects in the continent.

Following IWGIA's example several other organizations have joined in the support of indigenous peoples' rights to land and self-determination. From Britain, Survival International, the long-established Anti-Slavery Society and CIMRA, from West Germany, the Society for Endangered Peoples and from the Netherlands, the Workgroup for Indigenous Peoples have all worked to promote indigenous rights. In the United States the support organization Cultural Survival channels aid money to South American Indian organizations and regularly publishes on indigenous issues.

International bodies and human rights instruments

The major international platform for the human rights of South American indigenous peoples has been at the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the International Labour Organization. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) has contributed to this process and studied cases of violations of indigenous rights in Colombia, Paraguay and Brazil. But all these bodies could make more use of their potentially important influence in the Americas.

Since 1977, when South American Indians were represented at the NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, there has been an ever greater presence of indigenous Amerindians at the UN in Geneva. This is particularly the case at the Working Group on Indigenous Populations usually held at the end of July. The Working Group was established by the UN Human Rights Commission under its Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in Geneva in 1982. Its mandate is to review developments in the situation of human rights among indigenous peoples all over the world and to establish a Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights which will eventually become a Convention. To date over 11 principles have been agreed, all with a substantial input by indigenous peoples. Many of the statements and comments on the system by indigenous peoples have now been published by IWGIA.

The International Labour Organization's Convention 107 on indigenous and tribal populations of 1957 is currently under revision. As the only currently recognized international standard, the Convention has been used to question the Brazilian government

on the Yanomami human rights violations. However the integrationist perspective of the Convention is unacceptable to indigenous peoples and it is hoped that the revised Convention will come out unequivocally in favour of their rights to self-determination, territorial resources and control over their own development. Only then will it become an effective instrument.

CONCLUSION

On 15 March 1987, a 16 year old Amarakaeri youth was shot in the head by a colonist on the River Pukiri, Madre de Dios, Peru. As on most Sundays, the Amarakaeri had been relaxing and playing football among themselves and with some local colonists who had come over to talk. Because so many colonists and their workers live illegally on Amarakaeri land, tensions are never far from the surface. An argument broke out, there were scuffles and the colonists retreated. Later that evening the boy went upriver to a small store to buy cigarettes. As he entered he was shot and died instantly.

This is not an isolated incident in Peru, or South America. Killings take place every day. The killing could well have happened in Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Surinam or Paraguay. Sometimes the deaths result from direct oppression by the authorities; sometimes they arise from conflicts between colonists and indigenous peoples; sometimes they are products of poor conditions and neglect. In the face of the threats and dangers facing so many of the Amerindians of South America, there is a temptation for people to offer proposals and recommendations as to how the situation can be improved. Althought meant well, any suggestions which by-pass the wishes and considerations of indigenous peoples mean little because they ignore their fundamental right to self-determination.

These non-indigenous proposals follow two lines of thought: integrationist or protectionist. The integrationist position, held by liberal governments, concerned individuals and some organizations, considers that the decimation of the indigenous peoples of South America has arisen from a series of unfortunate accidents. The causes and reasons behind the problems are largely the result of mismanagement by governments and powerful interests. Indigenous peoples will eventually become integrated into the nation States of which they are a part and so this must be done as fairly and painlessly as possible, taking their wishes into account as long as these don't appear too disruptive. Indians are, by and large, overwhelmed by their situation and it remains up to the authorities and experts to guide them to a peaceful and more just future.

According to the protectionist position, the indigenous question arises from too much contact between traditional cultures and industrialized societies. Indigenous peoples should be protected and allowed to do what they like within the confines of their territories. They should be encouraged to live within their communities and outsiders should not be allowed access as the result is inevitably conflict. Once again, experts and the authorities must work together to seek a solution, taking into account indigenous views as long as they don't question the principles of the position. If this Report were to produce 'practical solutions' or recommendations, the net result would be a modified version of the two positions set out above. It does not intend to do this. It is impossible to make generalizations as to what future indigenous peoples themselves should have, without knowing what they want. Local, regional, national and international demands of indigenous peoples vary and it is up to those intending to seek remedies for their problems to talk and listen to them first.

There are, however, in South America many unnecessary threats facing indigenous peoples. For example, some colonization projects need not take place in areas where there are indigenous peoples. They have no objection to people migrating and living in areas which are genuinely not inhabited previously, but they do object to losing their ancestral lands to colonists, and also losing their few opportunities to make a living as well as their access to local markets and commodities.

The tension and conflicts which arise between colonists and indigenous peoples cannot be seen outside the structural problems in South American political economies and the global economy which contributes to the poverty in almost all sectors of society. In Brazil, for example, poor colonists are given a virtually free rein to attack and invade Indian lands. This is not the fault of the poor but of those who have the power to change the conditions which allow poverty and exploitation to continue. There is an urgent need for more detailed studies on the causes of poverty, exploitation and discrimination connecting regional, national and international levels. By understanding the conditions which indigenous peoples are sharing with other disadvantaged sectors of society it should be possible for indigenous peoples to exercise their right to self-determination without hindrance or threat. From this perspective the indigenous struggle will involve alliance with other oppressed sectors of South America to fight for their basic rights as human beings.

In addition to the common problems facing the oppressed, indigenous peoples have problems which particularly affect them as colonized nations. The intimate connection between indigenous society, culture and territory has been mentioned throughout this Report and it is this particular combination which moulds the right of self-determination. There is no doubt that indigenous peoples of the Americas are going through that alternation between resignation and resistance mentioned in the introduction. The efforts of indigenous peoples themselves to combat the threats which face them has been a fundamental part of their history and something which provides inspiration today. The only way to make a positive step towards improving their lot is to support them in combatting their own uncertainties. This means taking their resistance and their right to self-determination seriously.

The rise of indigenous organizations has been, without doubt, the most significant development during the last ten years. No one pretends that Indian organizations represent all of the Amerindian peoples, but they are trying to reflect the needs of those facing threats to the survival of their lives, lands and cultures. Once organized, indigenous peoples need not the old style of paternalistic backing but a different kind of support which reflects their self-determination and respects their ways and desires to form their own future. The theme of this Report has been self-determination, which the present writer believes to be the only real path for the recognition of the human rights of indigenous peoples. It does not make their struggle an inevitable road to success, but it does give it a meaning and sense of continuity which is fundamental to their future.

It is impossible to say that the situation of the South America indigenous nations has improved since the last MRG Report. For every gain – representatives in Parliament, new organizations, self-development projects – there are losses – killings of indigenous leaders, rapid loss of territories and discrimination. Because of the determined resolution of Indians all over the continent, they have continued to hold out against overwhelming odds – and this in itself is a victory. From the patio to the Parliament and to the United Nations, indigenous peoples from the Americas and all over the world are speaking out for themselves and for each other. The need for others to speak on their behalf has almost disappeared. A clear demonstration of this has been the work by indigenous peoples to set up standards which should provide the basis for their rights. At the beginning of this Report the Declaration of Principles, which is presented as a preface, was formulated by indigenous peoples themselves at the United Nations in 1985. It is still only an outline and needs further thought (particularly Article 18 which, in a Brazilian context, would remove the obligation by the State to protect Indian communities from colonists). Nevertheless, the declaration as published is an immediate indication of the sort of framework which would have to be taken into consideration by any national or international body trying to remedy the problems facing the Amerindians of South America.

To recognize that indigenous nations should have the right to control their affairs does not mean that non-indigenous peoples can do nothing to support them. All it means is that indigenous peoples must be able to lead their struggle and rely on help, backing and encouragement from the rest of the world. In practice, this means that indigenous affairs should receive a much higher profile in the media and also in the priorities of influential sectors of society: churches, trade unions, parliament, development organizations, and political parties. Individuals can play their part by bringing indigenous peoples' problems to the attention of these bodies. Public awareness of indigenous affairs must be sharpened and put to work. The future for these nations is not secure – indeed the same threats hang over them now as throughout colonial history.

The future of indigenous peoples is bound up with many aspects of other societies: like other people, they seek a better environment, social justice and respect for humanity. This Report has tried to show that the factors preventing them from exercising their fundamental rights – the self-interest of nation States and the constraints of the global political economy – are the same as threaten the future of us all.

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